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WOMAN'S PART IN GOVERNMENT

WOMAN'S PART IN GOVERNMENT

WHETHER SHE VOTES OR NOT

BY

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Published, November, 1911

PREFACE

WOMAN'S fundamental part in government is to do efficiently what her position requires of her as individual member of society: mother, sister, wage-earner, wage-payer, purchaser. No woman has the right to be a problem or a problem creator, no matter how usefully occupied with other people's affairs.

Of increasing importance is woman's second part in government, that of member of voluntary non-official organization or group: woman's club, social settlement, trade union, educational council, private charity. Women's organizations when inefficiently conducted may hamper government, just as efficient team work by women will always make efficient government easier.

Woman's third part in government is that of direct, conscious influencer of public opinion and official action. Here her influence is limited by what she knows, sees, wants and talks about three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, *whether she has the ballot or not.* For this third part the most urgent need is for methods to insure *straight-seeing, straight-thinking and straight-acting on public questions between election times.*

Woman's obligation to serve is measured by her opportunity to serve. To suggest some definite next steps which women — not voting or voting, alone or

collectively — must take in order to live up to their opportunities and obligations to serve, is the purpose of this book.

Just because these steps are chiefly between-election steps, my first intention was to treat them in such a way that it would be impossible to tell whether the writer believed the ballot would or would not be given to women. But it soon became clear that in evading an issue which at the present moment stirs womankind in two continents, I was making the way harder for my suggestions. Therefore, I decided to state candidly my belief that the time is coming when women will not only be permitted but will be expected to vote, however irksome or disillusioning the duty and privilege may prove.

Even if both political parties were convinced and remained convinced that woman's entrance into the political field as voter would be injurious to government and to woman's progress, party expediency would still bring woman suffrage.

Whatever else political parties have before them their chief aim is to win. In balancing possible good against possible evil any uncertain evils of suffrage are bound to seem relatively slight when compared with the certain benefits of winning next year's election and the next.

Voting will prove to be no more a matter of sex than running a college or church or business office. Any woman who can run a charity organization, a suburban home, a typewriter, a boarding house, a sales counter, a loom with one hundred

spindles or a class room with sixty children, will find voting so easy and so simple, and so transient in its satisfaction, that she will wonder at woman's anxiety to do it.

Because ninety-nine out of one hundred problems of government are sexless, the suggestions here made relate as well to men as to women. Yet because women are to-day idealizing the ballot as a means of improving government and accelerating social progress, this book deals particularly with woman's threefold relation to government between elections. It aims not to settle but to raise questions, to encourage self-analysis and study of local conditions, and to stimulate interest in methods and next steps for getting done what we all agree should be done to make democracy efficient.

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1

THE EXPANSION OF WOMAN'S PLACE

Outside is Inside the Home to Stay

WOMAN'S interest in affairs outside her home or other place of employment and recreation has come to stay. Of no woman is this more true than of those who cherish the home as woman's particular sphere.

Outside interests come to the home, whether homekeepers go outside or not. The church sends visitors and circulars; the charity sends pictures of the slums; the school sends instructions to remove eye defects or adenoids; the health department sends its house-to-house visiting nurse; the art museum sends invitations and appeals. Horizon-wideners, such as the theater, sweat shop, drainage canal, customs reforms, strikes against unsanitary conditions, come regularly with the monthly magazine, religious weekly and daily paper.

Outside is inside to stay.

Domestic servants exchange experiences at employment agencies. Trade unions seek to make recruits of foreigners. In sermons, problems of the time displace Noah's ark and Jonah's whale. There is incessant demand for instruction in sex hygiene. Mail order houses go to the remotest farm. Peddlers and insurance agents seek out those who cannot read. Back of every fight against ignorance or crime soon springs some commercial motive, seeking to attract the interest of the inside woman and to make money by informing her about outside; anti-

coffee cereals, anti-alcohol drugs, anti-tuberculosis farms, anti-fat, anti-ugly, anti-burglar, anti-fraud.

The whole world is arrayed against the exclusive inside. It is as anti-social to battle against outside interest as against outside air.

Woman's interest tends to run as far as her economic and social relations. Women themselves are organizing to make her wonder about the force and direction of the human currents upon which she looks and of which she is a part. Will she talk accurately or inaccurately, think intelligently or unintelligently of outside affairs? Think and talk women must; and about outside. Outside is inside to stay.

"Women everywhere are waking up, thinking, judging, longing for activity." Wake they will. Shall their waking create or solve problems?

Are You a Problem or Problem Creator?

Whether woman votes or not she has no right to be a social problem or problem creator. Her *credit* should exceed her *charge account*. The result of her living should be to reduce not increase society's difficulties, to facilitate not hinder social progress.

It is not enough for a woman to wish to avoid being a problem. To find out whether or not she is a problem, or is creating problems, is a duty independent of the ballot, which confronts the "home" woman as well as those who are active outside.

It is no small thing to keep out of the class of problem creator. It cannot be done by mere general

intelligence, by devotion to home or by contemplation of "the paradise that lies at the feet of the mother." It requires study and information about other people's work and needs. Good intention when uninformed and inefficiently directed creates social problems as April showers bring May flowers.

Woman is a problem creator if she:

Does not know how to keep her baby from having summer complaint
Does not know what her child is doing at school, or whether the school is efficient
Sleeps, lives or works in a badly ventilated room
Gives money or food to street beggars
Thinks that flies or mosquitoes or transmissible diseases are dispensations of Providence, rather than evidence of neglect
Lowers her efficiency as worker and mother by disobeying health laws
Thinks her daughter should be satisfied with idleness at home until marriage
Lies or permits her agent to lie about her taxes
Does penance for withholding taxes by small gifts to uplift work
Concentrates her attention on small fractions of her duty and opportunity as citizen
Thinks she has a right to be supported by some man without giving value for all she costs
Spends without serving
Trifles with her problems
Notes and quotes public men inaccurately
Thinks reform is a question of voting, rather than of getting specific things done
Fails to see that the intelligence needed by democracy is intelligence as to government, official

acts, and community needs not met, rather than intelligence as to ethics, history, art or fiction
Fails to see that " either her public spirit will grow or her private character will decline "

Woman's Place an Economic Question

Of what woman of your acquaintance can it be truly said that her place is " home "?
Of her time what proportion is spent within her home on work or thought having to do solely with her home?
Is she able to be about?
Of what do her guests and children talk?
What papers, magazines and books does she read?

Woman's place shifts with her age and with her economic and marital status. Over seven million American women are now placed by circumstances, or place themselves, in four hundred gainful occupations.

In 1910 a public dinner was given in London to fifty women engaged as contributors or editors upon the new *Encyclopedia Britannica.* It is seriously proposed to establish in France an Academy of Science for Women.

The business and professional woman has developed as naturally as the great merchant class developed in the Middle Ages or the world-wide industrial classes of the nineteenth century.

In which of the following list of places for woman is she so obviously out of place that you would exclude or withdraw her?

Home as mistress
Others' home as employé
Lecture platform
School as teacher
School as scrubwoman

Opera box
Opera chorus
Beauty parlor
Resort as boarder
Resort as cook

Farm
Café as spender
Café as waitress
Steamer as smuggler
Steamer as stewardess

Magazine as writer
Magazine as subject
Sales counter buying
Sales counter selling
Factory

Charity as benefactor
Charity as beneficiary
Charity as collector
Slum as social worker
Slum as resident

Court as lawyer
Court as juror
Court as probation officer
Court as defendant
Court as visitor

How Important is Woman's Work Outside Her Home?

Important enough to put the machinery of the world out of business if women should go on a strike to-morrow.

What church do you know that would continue to open its doors if women stopped going?
What Sunday school do you know that would continue if women stopped teaching and attending?
What uplift work do you know that would be worth describing in annual reports if women stopped working and giving?
What department store could last twenty-four hours if women stopped buying?
What theaters would pay dividends if 85% of the audience stopped going?

The Number Not the Type of New Woman is New

The newness of the new woman is in her number and ubiquity, not in her work or her talk.

Novels, like history and biography, teem with evidence that in all times woman's sphere has included men and world events outside her home. Pericles, Cæsar, Washington, Jefferson, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and Shakespeare had wives or women friends who could talk knowingly about the world's ways.

Roman ladies from time to time organized to obtain legislation.

Mary and Martha were wide awake sympathizers with the apostles and with the world awakening which they furthered.

Good Queen Bess and stern Catherine of Russia, like the women of the Renaissance, were shapers and leaders of public thought.

It is not the new woman who is new, but the world in which she lives and about which she reads, hears, asks questions, thinks, talks and writes. Othello has infinitely more competitors now and Desdemona infinitely more sources of interesting narrative.

The advanced woman of other days concealed her interest behind a pretense of ignorance or went into a convent. To find scope for organization, diplomacy and leadership it is no longer necessary to become an abbess. Skilled indirectness is beginning to give place to skilled directness in women's ways as *well as in* international diplomacy.

When we say that all great men were made by their mothers, who has in mind women who were unable to sympathize with their sons or to look with their sons' eyes on places outside their home?

The chief difference between the new woman and her predecessors is that the former finds it harder to be sure of eternal truths without knowing more mundane facts than her ancient prototype. Even for making small talk eternal truths are somewhat threadbare, and need concrete, up-to-date illustrations.

Do Women Want the Ballot?

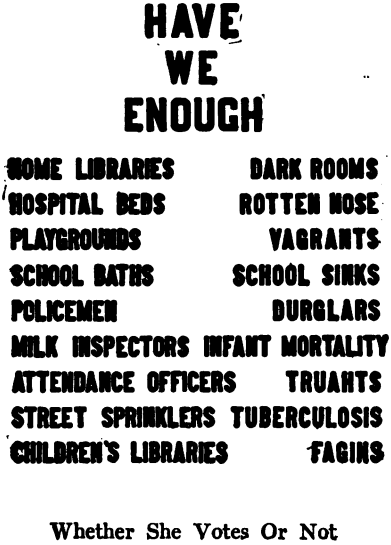
Not yet.

The majority have not yet thought enough about it. In fact, there is such fear that the majority of women do not yet wish the ballot that the suffrage leaders oppose a referendum for testing woman's wishes.

Governor Hughes, Senator Root and many other prominent leaders have said that women may have the ballot as soon as they want it. President Taft said to a national conference of women at Washington in 1910: "Your task is not in convincing man, but in convincing your own class."

But whether the majority of women want to vote is not the question which demands answer, however important it may be in theory. The handful of women who are active in demanding the ballot as a matter of abstract right and public expediency are so managing the handful of men who are responsible

for party decisions that the vote will soon be given to women. It is not worth while discussing now what fraction of women want to vote. Our task is as rapidly as possible to make all women capable of using the vote when they get it.



Whether She Votes Or Not

II

SOME SIDE-TRACKING QUESTIONS

Clearing the Way for Next Steps

It is to be regretted that far-sighted educators have not so prepared women to discuss the suffrage and their threefold relation to government that by this time we might contemplate the civic problems confronting women without being compelled to discuss certain questions now in controversy regarding woman's attributes.

For this book I prepared a digest of the arguments for and against suffrage as culled from the literature on this subject catalogued at the Astor Library, from propagandist reports and leaflets, and from the *Debater's Hand Book* on woman suffrage. I am finally omitting them because so many of them are inconclusive and beside the point.

For the purpose of clearing the way for a presentation of certain next steps to which women — in the home or out of the home, suffragist or anti-suffragist — are certain to give increasing attention, a number of minor questions — of sufficient importance, however, to have side-tracked much discussion of woman's part in government — are taken up here at the outset.

Are Women Moved by Personal Considerations?

Interesting as this question is it has no special relevance to woman's suffrage more than to woman's employment. Saleswomen, like salesmen, are certain

to discriminate between customers on personal grounds; customers retaliate in kind.

One does not stop liking or disliking people when one votes any more than when one teaches school.

Refuse to discuss this question with any person who starts with the assumption that men are not moved by personal considerations. So notoriously susceptible to such appeals are men that on them depend political parties, platforms, campaign heroes and candidates.

The way for society, as for the individual, to secure protection against personal considerations is to locate them and learn to look at each purchase, each official act or each party program so as to separate the personal from the impersonal considerations.

Are Women Reasonable?

Most men are not.

Many women are.

Being reasonable is a habit not a gift of sex.

It is one of the constant surprises of suffrage debate that it seems worth while to prove that women are or are not inferior to poor man in reasoning from cause to effect in matters of government. No more irrational human being could exist than,— any one of the ten men voters you first think of. What man do you know that is less *un*reasonable than Jane Addams or Ida Tarbell?

Being reasonable as a voter is quite different from being imitative, undecided, stupid or orthodox.

Neither men nor women can be reasonable without trying; neither can they fail to be reasonable if they remember accurately what they see and what happens after election to their preëlection hopes and fears.

Are Women Emotional?

Yes, if they are worth while.

So are successful men — statesmen, editors, preachers.

So are all successful leaders and all faithful followers.

Few people are more emotional than those who have themselves under control and enjoy checking their emotions before they "emote." Controlled emotions, such as usually characterized Washington and Lincoln, are the most enjoyable kind just as a furnace which consumes its own smoke gives the most heat from its coal.

Control over emotions is a habit. The sex that gave us Bernhardt and Terry can acquire this habit in voting as it can acquire any other habit.

Election and post-election disappointments are splendid training for the emotions, as are election and post-election successes. Friends and opponents combine in large numbers to remind us of faith misplaced or justified.

Women heretofore mildly emotional or even hysterical will go through a calming process when they find themselves debited or credited with their last election debauch and forecasts. Emotional or not,

we all want to be thought good prophets and fairly consistent.

What could be more emotional — in the weak sense — than the average man's voting?

So emotional and inflammable have been men voters, especially in crises, that expert campaigners have almost as many methods of blinding the vision of men voters as there are drugs for stimulating or quieting the nerves. *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion* defeated James G. Blaine for the presidency. The German vote, the Irish vote, the colored vote, the Italian vote, the Catholic vote, all have their emotional *open sesame.* Both conservatism and radicalism are so emotional that a few simple stock phrases will stir each to a white heat of enthusiasm or indignation.

There is no more important lesson for the voters of this country to learn than that public discussion of government has been on an emotional basis almost all of the time for a hundred years. Women can get it off that basis by improving upon, not by emulating, man's example.

Could Women Bear Arms?

Why not?

I do not see how anybody could ask that question after once seeing woman's success in getting into one of New York City's subway or Brooklyn Bridge cars during the rush hours.

Men now leave the most unpleasant tasks to women; women nurses work harder than men doctors;

the most disagreeable, hardest jobs in most offices are done by women.

The bravest man that ever lived would run away from a woman, whether she had arms or not, rather than face an open conflict. It is surprising that so much time is spent on discussing so hypothetical a situation as that this country should be so pressed for soldiers as to wish women to bear arms. Anyway, most men would rather go to war than be left behind to do the hard work that women must do when taking the place of arms bearers.

This is a good question to refuse to discuss until after one hundred other things have been threshed out.

Will Women Abolish the Political Picnic?

At first, in spite of woman's reputation for social aptitude, it takes a little wrench of the imagination to picture a woman's political picnic. But picnics and turkeys and ward heelers and professional good friends will last as long as there is appreciation of them.

Women will unquestionably throw themselves into competition for personal standing in their districts. The way is already paved by head workers of social settlements and district nurses who have developed "mixing" to a high degree of efficiency.

There is every reason to believe that the social functions connected with politics will increase rather than decrease with woman's vote. In this field the partially settled districts that have heretofore tried

woman suffrage can contribute little. Experience, however, with woman's electioneering in England demonstrates not only her success as a mixer, but her enjoyment in a kind of social work that may have fewer drawbacks and more attractions than the settlement work and church club service to which women have previously given so much attention.

In What Are Women Superior to Men?

As a side-track this question is potent.

For many ages women have found it pleasing, as men have found it successful, to have extravagant things said about woman's moral superiority. So it is taken for granted in almost all talks about woman's suffrage that woman will, of course, either look at government questions from a higher moral altitude or else lose what Senator Root calls "the sweet and noble influence of her character."

When you think how small a chance moral superiority has to show itself in voting, what's the use of challenging either extreme?

"Pretty is, as pretty does" applies to the practical use of moral superiority as well as to children's looks.

If you must be side-tracked, the following questions may be of help:

When you compare the sexes, how many of either sex are you talking about?
Do you know of any bad women?
Do women ever drink alcoholic beverages?
Do women ever tempt men to drink?
Do women ever smuggle?

Do "good" women ever like "bad" men?
Do women ever have any part in the social evil?
Do women ever profit from promoting that evil?
Do women ever swear off taxes justly due?
Do women ever waste their incomes?

Do women ever neglect babies?
Do women ever throw rubbish on the street?
Are women ever selfish?
Are women ever unjust in competition?
Are women ever vulgar or fond of vulgar books?

Do women ever go to questionable plays?
Do women ever gossip?
Do women ever deceive?
Are women ever uninformed?
Do women ever misplace confidence?

Are Women Corruptible?

Rarely when people are looking.

People can arrange to be looking most of the time.

Whether women are more or less corrupt than men is irrelevant so far as government is concerned, for "good" governors will look for efficient, sound policy and adequate results and not for corruption. If some women are more successful than most men in defending acts that are partly or wholly wrong, this idiosyncrasy is offset by a somewhat keener desire to seem to be entirely in the right.

It is, however, only fair to themselves for women voters to recall that indirect bribes are even among men more frequent and more insidious than direct bribes.

To condone incompetence because the incompetent has a perfectly splendid manner or sings divinely or helps raise money for my charity or belongs to my church may easily do more harm than flagrant graft.

When contemplating woman's incorruptibility and the inestimable service she will render when voting, try to use smuggling as an equilibrator. When you hear of smuggling, do you think of a man or a woman? Do you know any women who ever returned from Europe without smuggling? Is it inconceivable that you yourself would put a bit of lace, a pair of mittens or a note in a newspaper carried for one cent through the United States mail with the understanding that there shall be no enclosures?

Any harm ignorant and vicious women may do with the ballot will probably prove useful in calling attention to the absurdity of letting ignorant and vicious men vote or, for that matter, letting intelligent and virtuous men vote ignorantly and viciously.

Is Suffrage a Success in Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming and Australia?

Who cares?

Who knows?

Who dares to question it?

That the great majority in suffrage states proclaim its success may be significant or may mean only that men with public or social ambition are filled with that gratitude (and caution) which has been defined as a "lively sense of favors (or disfavors) to come."

The negative may quote Judge Ben B. Lindsey:

"Woman suffrage has not done any more for reform than manhood suffrage and it will not do it in the future."

The affirmative may quote Judge Ben B. Lindsey: "In a case where it is a clear moral issue, woman's vote is always on the side of morality, justice and decency."

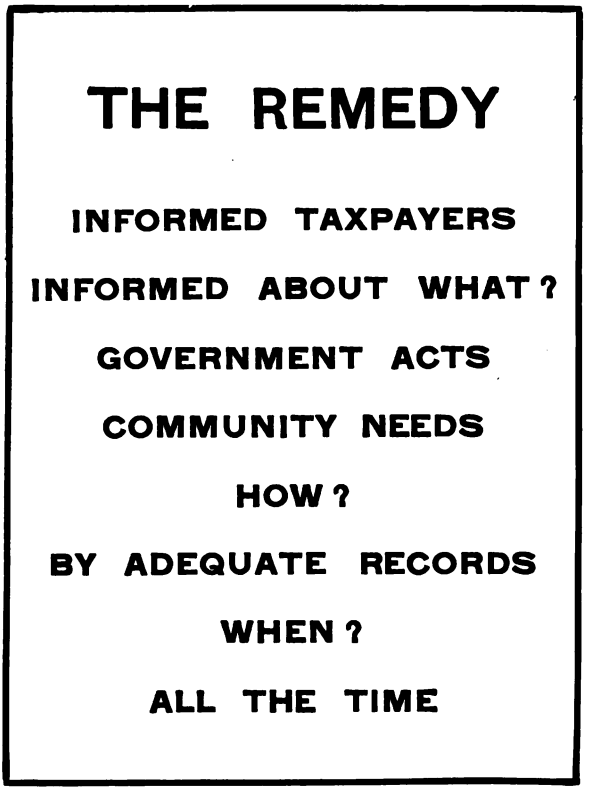
If woman suffrage had sent Wyoming and Colorado to the eternal bow-wows, such testimony would be swept aside by the suffragists of Massachusetts and New York, who would nonchalantly reply: "Whether Colorado or any other of the equal suffrage states has been injured is not the point," or with equal effectiveness, "It simply goes to show that the men and women of Wyoming or Colorado have not sufficiently used their opportunities." Had suffrage been an unqualified fulfillment of its promises, the anti-suffragist would say: "These partially settled states are by no means typical."

If, after a test of fifty years, universal votes for women should show a net loss, the simple question would be: "Haven't we women the right to make mistakes?"

To have intelligent women is more important than to have good government. Women do have the right to make mistakes, follow will-o'-the-wisps, make heroes of foolish or bad men, look for panaceas in bad policies, change their minds,—to learn, as the normal mind must learn, by experience, by comparing results with effort and by relating effect to cause.

The vital, immediate questions are:

How can the suffrage be best used?
How can its dangers be minimized?
How can women get ready for it?
How can they learn from their mistakes?



A Budget Exhibit Sign

III

METHODS NOT PURPOSES IN CONTROVERSY

Method Not Purpose Divides Women

WOMAN'S mind is divided on the suffrage question only because opinions differ about the way to get what all women want.

Do you know any woman who does not think that woman's influence should be constantly exercised for the right?

Do you know any woman who would say that it is enough for women to be happy without encouraging happiness in others, or to be ornamental without promoting beauty for others?

Do you know any woman who thinks that women ought to have nothing to do with making the world better, with training citizens, creating wholesome public sentiment, and promoting the fights against corruption and unsound principles?

If we observe the suffragist, anti-suffragist, and indifferent of our day, we see more likenesses than differences. They extol the same virtues and hate the same faults in government. They all want justice. They all wish to preserve the normal superiority of woman and her keener sensibilities. They all want woman released from the bondage of ignorance and believe in her power to become informed.

They agree upon the country, but disagree upon the road to travel. They all want to escape Egypt and enter Palestine. Some demur to the Red Sea,

the manna diet and forty years in the wilderness. They disagree as to methods of exercising their beneficent influence, and as to the effect of woman's vote upon man's vote, upon government standards and upon the home.

Method Not Purpose is Likewise the Chief Controversy in Politics and Statecraft

Do you know anybody who does not think that there should be equal opportunity before the law?

Who favors private monopoly if it can be helped?

Who thinks preventable diseases should be unchecked in schools, public graft licensed, court verdicts sold, or police departments allied with vice?

Who denies government's duty to promote "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"?

Did the corrupt politicians of your city ever admit that their candidate was corrupt or ask the voters to authorize obvious graft?

Did you ever have an election where a "moral" step was opposed on any other ground than that it was not really moral or that it "would not work"?

The capitalist's objection to socialism is not so much that abolishing or equalizing capital would be undesirable, as that it "can't be done" or "won't work."

In national, as well as in state and local elections, the difference between great parties is almost always one of method, not of purpose.

Political platforms sound very much alike. The

one made last may succeed in getting in a few extras that the other overlooked, but seldom does one clearly favor an end that another clearly opposes.

How much and what humanity should do, and how much of that government should do, are questions of method that make some of us oppose while others propose definite next steps.

Carrie-Nationing Government a Dubious Method

"Advertise" the suffrage cause by encouraging pretty girls to do what they particularly enjoy doing if other people think it is improper; "advertise" by teaching lovely and susceptible girls to appeal to questionable if not positively low motives in strange men who are glad to buy cake for The Cause if they may joke about its sweet purveyor; "advertise" The Cause, by distributing literature marked "for young men only" or promote the sale of books by similar suggestions.

What's the difference?

Go to prison for disorderly conduct and surpass in martyrdom and freakishness for sake of the ballot, or later for sake of one of the ends the ballot is supposed to serve!

What's the difference?

Shooting up a town is disorder whether the shooter-up is male or female, drunk with suffrage or with alcohol.

What illegal, immoral, sensual or freakish act is justifiable before suffrage that will not be equally justifiable after the ballot is possessed? Hanging

"with one arm to a lamp post with one arm and two legs in the air" is as good an argument for tariff revision downward as for woman suffrage. Will not men and women converted to the suffrage cause by such methods expect similar shock and drugging to interest them in using the suffrage?

The Carrie-Nationing method is so unimaginative!

Government Method Has Heretofore Received Less Attention than Government Purpose

Do you see how a woman who refuses to be interested in government methods as distinct from government purposes may exercise a harmful influence on her husband's or brother's thought about government, whether she votes or not?

Suffragists and anti-suffragists alike have discussed men and purposes more than methods; general doctrines more than the details from which those doctrines are made; high elevations rather than the steps by which those high elevations may be reached. As to which benefits shall be sought and which evils attacked, there is not enough difference to be interesting. There is little more to be said of lawyers' books, men's literature on government, men's efforts to secure "good government." To this concentration upon aim and purpose with its accompanying disregard of method and next steps, is due the past success of charlatan and grafter in American politics.

There is no reason why it should be harder for women to be intelligent about method in govern-

ment than about method in housekeeping or "good breeding."

To Interest Women in Methods and Next Steps is One of Government's Greatest Needs

When women plan a dinner they break up their general picture into its component parts — individual guests, their congeniality with each other, their tastes, table decorations, plates, entrées, roast, salad, character of service, etc.

Government, like dinners, is not just a great big "good thing," a desire or a puzzle, but a large number of definite little things which need to be properly arranged — definite steps which need to be taken each in its own time and properly adapted to those that need to go before and after.

To govern, women must be more interested in the sequence of acts than in the sequence of men, in government steps than in parties and promises.

Balloting has to do with men and methods only once in two (one day in 730) or four years (one in 1440 days), and has then very little to do with methods or steps.

It is obstructive of good government for large numbers of governed or governing to believe things possible that cannot be done, or to think things hard that are easy, or to mispraise and miscondemn official conduct. Women, like men, are certain to mispraise and miscondemn unless they know methods and watch next steps.

Numerous Hand Books on Next Steps in Government are Needed by Men and Women Alike

From all parts of the country comes evidence that our *wanting* and our *seeing* have gone far beyond our *getting* and our *knowledge of steps for getting.*

This book can serve best if it illustrates the need for hand books on method in government, and if it prompts their preparation from a number of points of view and for a number of different purposes.

Methods of work for better government cannot be successfully standardized, or imparted by college instruction, without a new kind of literature which combines the two ideas of (1) *report of facts* and (2) *hand book of instruction in getting things done.*

Men who vote for the same president, same governor, same mayor, should be able to think in the same way of the same methods, as well as of the same problems and same goal.

If you wanted to organize a municipal league or bureau of municipal research, how could you find out how to go about it, where to begin, and what to do next?

If you were appointed president of a board of education, where could you look for a list of definite steps to be taken?

When public speakers tell you how to make the city beautiful, how to save babies, or increase public interest in schools, do they tell you where you can find booklets and literature showing you how to use their advice?

Do you know how to organize a suffrage society or anti-suffrage society?

Does there exist in your city or state any hand book of advice to those who want to increase the efficiency of chambers of commerce, political parties, reform agencies, uplift societies, etc.?

"MY PEOPLE ARE DESTROYED FOR LACK OF KNOWLEDGE"

Hosea 4:5

As To

Preventable Crime
Preventable Ignorance
Preventable Tuberculosis
Preventable Infant Mortality
Preventable Housing Evils
Preventable School Absences
Preventable Waste
Preventable Corruption

"MY PEOPLE ARE DESTROYED FOR LACK OF KNOWLEDGE"

Concerning

School Needs Not Met
Playground Needs Not Met
Hospital Needs Not Met
Police Needs Not Met
Probation Needs Not Met
Actual Conditions
Available Remedies

THERE NEED BE NO LACK OF KNOWLEDGE THIS YEAR

ROBERT L. STEVENS FUND

for

Municipal Research in Hoboken, N. J.

Efficiency Citizenship, 18

The Budget Exhibit and Budget Conference Method of Making Woman's Influence Felt

IV

WOMAN'S FIRST VOTING

The Probable Evolution of Woman's Interest

ASSUMING that woman will have suffrage thrust upon her whether she achieves it or not, I have tried to suggest in the following pages the probable evolution of her voting, her experiments with "short cuts," her inevitable demand for help in taking definite next steps between election times.

Being Registered as Eligible to Vote

Wherever proof of residence and of age is not *recorded in writing before election day* ballot box frauds, bribing and disorder prevail.

In most places voters must now signify their intention to vote, or at least must claim their right to vote, in a particular voting precinct on one of several days set from one to four weeks before election. This is called personal registration, which dates in New York City from 1840, and in the state from 1859.

Those registering tell their full name, residence, place and date of birth, where they voted last, how long they have lived in the voting precinct, how long in the city, how long in the state. These facts are open to public inspection. Where no such restrictions exist women can get them established, whether they have the vote or not.

No one who has not registered in advance is per-

mitted to vote. Too frequently from 10% to 40% register who do not vote.

The best method of preventing one woman's registering in another's name is to require that every person registering sign her name, and that if later challenged when voting, she sign her name again.

To prevent confusion and quarreling "challengers" or "watchers" properly certified by parties or factions which they represent are permitted to be near the booth on both registration and election days. Each party is allowed but one watcher at each precinct at one time. The theory is that each party's watcher will, of course, protect his party against obvious fraud. It has been found that watchers give little protection if they are either unobserving or timid-hearted, or willing to betray their party and wink at violations of the law. In New York City women have watched and challenged at recent registrations although themselves without the vote.

Woman's First Primary

In the fight for suffrage there is the appeal to emotion plus the demand for military discipline and sacrifice which makes for heroism and partisanship. Once having won there will come a reaction and for every woman who will be anxious to use the ballot one hundred will be "glad it's all over."

But within a few months after receiving the ballot the woman voter will be compelled to think about her *first primary.*

Who shall be named as candidates by the leading parties?

What kind of officers does she think they will prove to be if elected?

How shall she choose between men who make the same promises, if she knows neither?

Besides voting for men has she in mind the measures for which these men stand?

What seems so easy now when she has not the ballot will become confusing. Candidates will all talk alike. Moral issues will be as thick as bacteria in bad milk.

It will be most annoying to have calls at all hours of the day, to receive letters in every mail, to be buttonholed on the street, in church or at club meetings, and to be forced again to go through the turmoil that characterized the campaign for the ballot.

It will be futile to protest indifference, and impossible to know that a very nicely addressed envelope contains an appeal to vote for John or Mary Doe.

If you do not go into the convention (so long as it lasts) you have little or no influence. If you do go in you must go to participate, which means, as in women's clubs for example, to scheme, to maneuver and to fight. Once in the convention the chaos, disorder and uncertainty will make it almost impossible to reach an unbiased decision unless you have already decided which leader to follow. Several practical questions will arise:

Shall the primary be at the same place for both men and women?

Should women arrange to participate in the pre-convention gatherings that make up slates for practically all conventions, or shall they organize to break slates as they did at the National Education Association in Boston when Superintendent Ella Flagg Young was elected president in 1910?

How far shall your interest in *work promised* influence your choice of men?

Have you ever known a candidate so bad in the eyes of opponents that some women did not earnestly support him?

Did you ever go to hear a "popular menace" where you did not find other women?

Did you ever know a fallen hero in politics whom large numbers of women did not enthusiastically support?

Will you vote for a candidate in spite of or because of his political affiliations?

What are you going to do when confronted with a dilemma such as faced the women of Colorado in 1910; i. e., to oppose the saloon they must vote for the beast in the jungle; to oppose the beast in the jungle they must vote for the saloon.

Woman's First Ballot for Candidates

The first ballot among the recently enfranchised women in the State of Washington was cast by the women of Seattle for or against the recall of a mayor. The issue was the "alleged toleration by the mayor of vicious resorts and his appointment *of a notoriously* unfit chief of police."

In few instances, however, will woman's first ballot concern an issue so clearly "moral" and so simple. On the contrary most first votes will be for or against a long list of candidates for offices which at the time of their first vote the great majority of women will not understand or care about.

Getting ready for this first ballot deserves more detailed attention than has been given in the past to newly enfranchised voters. Balloting by women will be expensive and must be justified by results. Doubling the number of votes will mean nearly doubling the present election costs. Direct and measurable benefits should result if we divert a million dollars a year from wages and income for the sole purpose of giving women the ballot.

Fortunately the results of woman's voting are testable. Women must learn how to apply these tests. Their problem is not to do as well as men have been in the habit of doing, but to live up as nearly as possible to 100% of their own opportunity.

Efficient use of woman's first ballot means organization in advance, training in advance and continuous educational work with each eligible voter. It means, moreover, visits for the purpose of persuading women to register, registering, counting, interpreting the vote and learning lessons from it. To take each of these steps will be more important at woman's first ballot than to vote right on the men and issues presented.

Getting Out the Woman's Vote

While election day, or so much of it as is required for voting, is a legal holiday, there are always scores of other attractions. If the sun shines it is a good day for rowing, golfing or house parties; if it rains the polls seem too far away, and there are always reasons for believing that your vote is not needed.

Getting out the full woman's vote will be no small problem. Many will be timid, others obstinate and others sincerely indifferent.

The stay-at-home vote will be very large at woman's first ballot unless some unusually exciting issue is presented, such as free silver or some police scandal, or unless some central organization works efficiently for weeks in advance from house to house, through newspapers, billboards and public meetings to make it more uncomfortable for any woman to stay at home than to vote.

That staying at home on election day is not a feminine trait should be kept constantly in mind. Even in Boston in January, 1911, at an important election for school trustees, 52,452 out of 110,223 registered male voters stayed at home.

In the very common indifference of voters is rooted the practice of paying men to vote which has recently been shown to thrive among the American born population in Adams County, Ohio, in Uncle Joe Cannon's county in Illinois, in rural districts of Delaware and Connecticut, etc.

Protecting the Vote

Getting truth out of the vote is as important as getting the vote out of qualified electors.

There are many devices for confusing voters at the last moment. Campaign lies are sprung one or two days before election which raise enough doubts so that many voters decide not to vote while others vote against their better judgment. Constant vigilance, therefore, is needed.

In the days of the sticker or paster, when each party printed its own ballot and before a single, authorized ballot was printed, many voters found that they had unwittingly been trapped into voting the wrong ticket under a false name.

When the voter cannot read, the law in many states permits him to ask for help. Two parties often conspire to trap an ignorant man into voting for the man and party he wants to defeat instead of for his own candidate and party. It should be remembered that thousands upon thousands of votes for Mayor McClellan, Governor Hughes and President Roosevelt, as well as for Tammany Hall and other corrupt machines, were of this kind.

Votes may be lost by marking the ballots wrong, by inaccurateness in counting, by misinterpretation of the rules regarding the ballots or by actual theft of ballots. Carelessness, inaccuracy and misinterpretation can be prevented, but not by the ballot or by deploring evil tendencies. Care, accuracy and right interpretation require study, courage, persist-

ence — all of which are in the line of greatest resistance.

It is unpleasant to remind election officers of mistakes. I was once a watcher in the famous John Powers district in Chicago, and when my count differed from the official count by over two hundred votes they were very indignant with me because I refused to "split the difference" so as to save their time in recounting.

Do you know any woman who would rather "split the difference" than correct a mistake by recounting? Who would hesitate to suspect another of wishing to vote illegally? Who would miss her appointment with the polling booth? Who would be certain to have good reasons for not voting?

Has anybody but the two chief political parties a complete list, house by house, of the eligible voters in your city?

Interpreting the Vote

If after-election explanations of defeat resemble "whistling through the graveyard," it is usually because the facts have not been candidly stated. One trouble has been that explanations of failure do not make news. Newspapers cannot afford to spend time and money trying to make the public see the facts.

Those who win are perfectly satisfied to have their winning attributed to their all round superiority.

When those who lose are machine politicians, they accept their losses in a sportsmanlike way and wait

for the wheel of fortune to turn. When those who lose are earnest "good men," they do not wish to incur ridicule and criticism for not being good losers. When those who lose are reform, independent, or fusion parties, they are usually without the money necessary even to analyze the vote, to say nothing of conducting an educational campaign that will force the whole community to see what the vote really did mean.

For example, if a majority of women in any state should vote against the suffrage, it would by no means prove that the majority of women did not desire to vote. On the contrary it might mean merely an enormous stay-at-home vote. Large numbers really desiring to vote might stay at home, forget to register, be sick or out of town or timid, or might not see the opportunity early enough or not understand what they were to do.

Likewise a vote for suffrage might easily mean a desire to please some advocate of suffrage, loyalty to some particular leader or desire to avoid censure from one's friends among the suffragists.

Interpreting the vote means studying the vote, which means study in detail of voters and forces behind the vote and an outlay of time and money such as has never yet been given to municipal, state or even national elections. There is no reason why we should wait one hundred years to learn the real meaning of the vote against Bryan in 1906, against Parker in 1904, and for Taft in 1908. Here is a field for some philanthropist, male or female, able to

see the importance of interpreting election results for male and female voters and to provide the funds.

The Woman Voter's First Disappointment

Woman's first ballot is certain to be disappointing for a large number of woman voters. Many will be tempted to be discouraged or cynical.

Yet the right of the majority must be recognized. The vote makes right until the next election whatever wrong seems to be involved in the program of those candidates who are elected by a majority or plurality vote.

It frequently happens that minorities elect candidates opposed by the majority. More men voted against Governor Dix than for him in 1908; more men voted against Governor Hughes than for him. In almost all close elections the winning candidate receives less than half of all votes cast, e. g., Presidents Polk, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Cleveland and Harrison. As in clubs and debating societies it is customary to follow even a hardly-contested election by a motion "to make the vote unanimous," as a means of expressing the good will of the defeated faction and its acquiescence in the will of the plurality, so in government all citizens are expected to support loyally the successful candidates.

If the disappointed voter can give any reasons for believing that any of the votes cast were illegal or that an improper count was made, she can secure a recount. If there is no evidence of fraud, women

must wait for another election no matter how erroneous they consider the judgment of the winners. We must cultivate that capacity for rapid adjustment which enables those who live under monarchial forms of government to say, "The King (the party or principles you approve) is dead; long live the King (the successful party and principles)."

But being a good loser does not require renunciation. If no attempt is made to correct evils while election bitterness and disappointment are still keen, evils will continue.

A new organization is needed in every community which shall begin the day after election to make educational use of all lessons from the last election, tell the truth about pledges kept or broken and work done or left undone, until four weeks before the next election when it can safely rest and leave the case in the hands of various parties to election excitement.

Does the average woman lose or gain courage under disappointment?

Do most men or women rebound from a defeat and build at once upon its lessons for the next year's work?

Is it possible to secure in your city a non-partisan, unprejudiced analysis of election results and their causes?

The Slip 'Twixt Voting For and Getting

One of the most pathetic things about popular suffrage has been the number of times that pre-

election pledges were broken. One of the most pathetic things that will follow suffrage for women will be the yawning gaps between what they will vote for and what they will get.

No majority ever voted for dishonesty, for intrigue, or for wasteful government. Yet dishonesty, intrigue and waste have characterized our government for one hundred years.

No majority ever voted for saloons which believed that prohibition would actually stop drunkenness.

No elector ever voted for broken pledges — to him. In 1908 7,678,908 men voted for Mr. Taft for president, the vast majority of them in the belief that they were voting for the downward revision of the tariff. They got revision upward for many of the articles on which they particularly wanted the tariff lowered.

The curious thing about it all is the facility with which candidates try to persuade electors that election promises have been kept. Disappointed as President Taft was with the failure of the Republican congress to revise the tariff downward, he did his best to make the voters believe that the tariff actually voted after election was the tariff promised before election.

Tammany Hall has never admitted that a vote for its candidates was a vote for gambling, for prostitution or for a wide open town. A great majority of its followers have always believed that voting for Tammany Hall was voting for enforce-

ment of the law, for cleanliness and for a square deal.

Very few of the serious faults against which we now complain have ever been openly defended by legislatures or by officials. There is generally an unimpeachable Edward M. Shepard to match an unimpeachable Seth Low in order to make it difficult for a voter to believe that any party stands for disorder, vice or injustice and to confuse the voter's memory as to the last slip 'twixt voting for and getting.

The Slip 'Twixt Promising and Doing

The gap between what a woman might do as a citizen without the ballot and what she does is often greater than the gap between official duty and official achievement.

The "baddest" men are the best promisers. You never heard of a great politician who confessed alliance with evil or who failed to claim that he stood for the purity of the home and for decency. If he favored regulation of vice, it was only because he wanted to give better protection to decency. Because moral issues are surprisingly few, and fewer still the men willing to stand in open opposition to the moral side of an argument, all men claim that their particular party or program is in line with individual and public morals.

Promises satisfy the public so well that platform makers vie with one another to see which can most

eloquently and continuously promise the greater benefits.

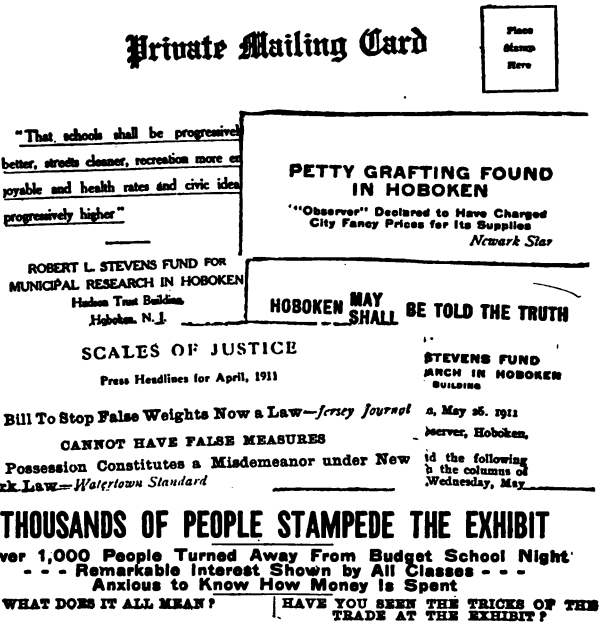
Because government consists of innumerable acts of different kinds a part of the plausible story told by those who try to harmonize their acts with their promises is pretty sure to be true. For example, hundreds of thousands of partisan voters in 1910 saw their bitterness against the Payne-Aldrich tariff gradually weaken and disappear before ex-President Roosevelt's argument that it was the best tariff the country ever had and was laying the basis for a fundamental, equitable and scientific revision.

Rainbows of promise, disappointment and confusion chase each other so quickly that many voters resign themselves and adopt a cynical attitude toward government and politics. The wise wink their eyes, the innocent shrug their shoulders, the majority shake their fists and fume and forget. We try voting one party in and the other out, in the hope that a rotation of parties will bring the same results that the farmer gets from rotating his crops. When voting time comes round again the leaders' picnics have wiped away much of the resentment and the old party line-up seems the wisest thing. For years to come the great majority will still go this way.

The woman voter will never learn to "size up" candidates so as to protect herself against the slip 'twixt voting for and getting or the other slip 'twixt promising and doing. She can, however, equip herself to recognize the gap between promising

and doing, if efficient methods are used by her leaders to compare after-election work with before-election promises and to provide against being misled a second time by the same man, or same woman.

Masses are very much influenced by what is current talk for 365 days in the year. Someone should obtain and make universally known proof about official acts throughout the year, as repeatedly suggested in later paragraphs. But while learning to do this, women voters will jump from frying pan into fire, and believe one fairy tale after another about short cuts warranted to insure predigested good government.



Private Mailing Card

Place Stamp Here

"That schools shall be progressively better, streets cleaner, recreation more enjoyable and health rates and civic ideals progressively higher"

ROBERT L. STEVENS FUND FOR MUNICIPAL RESEARCH IN HOBOKEN
Hudson Trust Building
Hoboken, N. J.

PETTY GRAFTING FOUND IN HOBOKEN

"Observer" Declared to Have Charged City Fancy Prices for Its Supplies

Newark Star

HOBOKEN MAY SHALL BE TOLD THE TRUTH

SCALES OF JUSTICE

Press Headlines for April, 1911

STEVENS FUND
ARCH IN HOBOKEN
BUILDING

Bill To Stop False Weights Now a Law—*Jersey Journal*

a, May 26, 1911

CANNOT HAVE FALSE MEASURES

Possession Constitutes a Misdemeanor under New York Law—*Watertown Standard*

Observer, Hoboken,

id the following
h the columns of
Wednesday, May

THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE STAMPEDE THE EXHIBIT

Over 1,000 People Turned Away From Budget School Night
- - - Remarkable Interest Shown by All Classes - - -
Anxious to Know How Money Is Spent

WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

HAVE YOU SEEN THE TRICKS OF THE TRADE AT THE EXHIBIT?

Informing the Public Between Election Times

V

TRYING SHORT CUTS TO EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT

Are There Short Cuts to Efficient Government?

THE human mind, like the animal mind, is so constituted that after a few disappointments it seeks escape by trying to find bars out of cages, holes in fences or short cuts through conventions and habits. On this instinct the quacks of medicine, politics and religion have thrived since the beginning of time. To this instinct women voters will yield as inevitably as our grandfathers and grandmothers took measles, diptheria, scarlet fever and other children's diseases. We must go through a period of "catching diseases" in woman's experiments with panaceas and short cuts to "good government." The quicker they are exposed the less harm can be done, unless educational processes can be put in action that will enable women, voting or not voting, to see the difference between the real and the apparent causes of government weaknesses.

The first disappointment women voters will attribute to candidates, the next to parties and hence on to various other mechanical and human restraints which they will try to correct by experimenting with attractively advertised bargains or short cuts.

It does not at all detract from the merit of various proposals hereafter considered to remind the woman voter, and the man voter as well, that no scheme will be invented which will prevent uninformed

or misinformed men and women from being exploited and injured by misgovernment.

Are There Too Many Voters?

What every twenty-one-year-old may have is not treasurable. Instead of doubling the voters or making it compulsory to vote, as in Austria or Belgium, perhaps we would get a better result if fewer people voted. When one sees all the people who vote now, one wonders whether the vote is not already made too cheap.

How many people of your acquaintance can you think of who really ought not to be permitted to vote?

Are there many women in this number?

Are some people too easily influenced to be trusted as voters?

Shall we exclude spinsters over forty or wives who are not mothers?

Shall we advance the minimum age to twenty-five and shorten the maximum to fifty?

Shall we rule out all who cannot write their own names?

Shall we exclude all who cannot pass a civil service examination?

Shall we disfranchise men who cannot work or who are not married?

Shall we disfranchise all who have been convicted in criminal courts whether they serve sentences, pay fines or escape with reprimand?

Shall we disfranchise those who fail to vote as we now disfranchise those convicted of selling their votes?

Shall There be Higher Minimum and Lower Maximum Age Limits?

Since rights always impose duties and since it might simplify elections to have fewer voters, perhaps it would be wise to have a " Well done, thou good and faithful servant " for voters as well as for army and teaching veterans.

As the obligation to vote becomes more generally recognized, we shall arouse sympathy for those veterans who find voting arduous not only because of the excitement and responsibility, but also because of the actual physical drain of going to inconvenient, unpleasant places.

In these days twenty-one is pretty young even for women; younger relatively than Athens' voting age — eighteen. The so-called higher type of citizen is not through college at this time or is not qualified as lawyer, doctor, dentist, minister or teacher.

Shall the old age limit be drawn at eighty, seventy-five, sixty-five or sixty?

How many voters would be dropped from the rolls of your state or city at each age limit above given?

Would those above the maximum age be listened to more attentively if without the vote, as likely to be more free from partisan influence?

As you know voters and issues, would your community lose if no one under twenty-five were permitted to vote?

Would you rather spare those between twenty-one and twenty-five or those over sixty?

Should There be a Property Qualification?

It is often irritating to the man who pays the bills to see the town loafer count for as much at the polls as himself; hence, the growing sentiment in favor of permitting no one to vote, at least on matters of direct taxation, who is not a direct taxpayer.

Yet the distinction between the direct and indirect taxpayer is growing more unsatisfactory and indefinite every year. Fifty thousand dollars is a "tidy sum" even in New York; forty dollars a week, two thousand a year, equals the income on fifty thousand dollars. Is the non-earner who owns fifty thousand dollars more fit to vote than the non-owner who earns two thousand dollars a year?

Wives earn when they keep house — how much it is hard to prove. Ministers earn on an average less than seven hundred dollars a year and own little, if any, property. There are lawyers and doctors and college professors who are not-yet-earners and more still who are not-yet-owners. There are old men who used to be earners and now neither earn nor own. If all these were to be excluded from voting we should take the ballot from many who are competent to understand its meaning, and at the same time are most directly affected by the way taxes are spent.

There is no relation between understanding public needs and possessing property. Time and again owners of property have shown that in their so-called miscalled conservatism they often fail to see not only what is best for the public, but what is best for

their own property. So the very poor repeatedly vote for men and policies that lower their earning power and deprive their children of opportunity.

Women have not been satisfied with the limited suffrage granted to property owning women in New York State, but demand womanhood suffrage.

If women vote, shall only those vote who have property?
Shall those be excluded who are spenders and neither toil nor spin?
Shall those be excluded who work at home without specified compensation?
Shall servants be permitted to vote contrary to the interests of their employers?
Why is selling one's vote heinous?

Next to the proverbial "stealing sheep," no meaner form of dishonesty is recognized than selling one's vote. It is thought to be even worse than buying votes. In Adams County, Ohio (which is unique among rural districts chiefly in having been found out), it has developed that even ministers, Sunday-school superintendents and owners of farms have been selling their votes. In fact, almost the only man in that county whom nobody suspects of having sold his vote in the 1910 election is a man who had gotten so avaricious and held his vote so high that both sides agreed not to do business with him.

But why does nobody consider it dishonest or mean if the owner of forests in Mississippi votes for a congressman pledged to vote in return for the tariff on lumber?

Our pharisaical horror at selling votes seems to forget that the purpose of voting was not originally, and is not to-day, to express the opinion of citizens with regard to what would be best in some vague "long run" for the greatest number, but to express truthfully each voter's economic interest. Women frankly ask for the ballot to further their industrial interest.

If it makes no difference to you how an election goes, why should you not sell your vote to the highest bidder?

The real trouble has been that thousands of rich and poor alike have failed to see the slightest difference between a Republican and a Democratic administration. Instead of thinking too much of our personal interests in elections, we have thought too little. The way out is not to work up mawkish sentiment in favor of voting for the interest of one's neighbor, but to develop more definite personal interest. The farmer and the working man would have come to ethical voting much earlier if they had not been misled into forgetting their direct, personal interest by insincere twaddle about the country's good.

Should There be an Educational Qualification?

There is nothing more reasonable on its face than the demand for some kind of educational qualification for voters.

Obviously, idiots and feeble-minded persons who cannot possibly know what the candidates stand for or what they are should not be permitted to vote

for men or policies. Is it less obvious, however, that nobody else has any better right than idiots or feeble-minded persons to vote, if she knows nothing about the particular men or particular policies at issue?

Intelligence that is not used, as well as lack of intelligence, may serve to confuse issues.

While we all agree, therefore, that some test of the voter's knowledge should be applied, it is not so easy to decide just what the voter ought to know. I have never seen a proposal for an educational qualification that had the slightest bearing upon the intelligence of the voter with respect to the particular matters for or against which he must vote.

If there is any one thing that in ninety-nine elections out of one hundred it is not important for the voter to know, it is the constitution or the history of the United States. Equally futile in deciding whether a man or woman is qualified to cast a ballot, is knowing when Hannibal crossed the Alps; how Napoleon came back from St. Elba; the number of cubic inches in a gallon; the distribution of powers in a municipality or the theory of its organization; or whether Theodore Roosevelt was the thirteenth or twenty-seventh president of the United States.

Furthermore it does not follow because a man of twenty-one can prove education enough to entitle him to vote that he will keep sufficiently informed so that at the age of forty he will be equally intelligent about public problems. Many a doctor passes an examination at twenty-five who is utterly unfit to treat sick people at fifty. Many a lawyer qualifies at

twenty-five who, by thirty, has only useless and damaging information.

The only kind of education that is of any real use to voters, except for drawing artificial lines between different classes in a community, is education regarding each particular issue at stake in each particular election. Ideally, therefore, an educational qualification should be applied at each registration time. For example, nobody should be allowed to vote on public ownership of subways who has no better reason for voting for or against than that it looks socialistic. Nobody should be permitted to vote against Tammany Hall just because Lincoln freed the slaves in 1863. Nobody should be allowed to vote against a Republican candidate because the United States Bank had a row with Andrew Jackson. Nor should anybody be allowed to vote for or against a candidate for president out of reverence or hatred for Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Practically I see the futility of urging a worthwhile educational qualification. Years after we are used to government by commission, we may come to the time when five or ten or one hundred men will be selected by lot on the main street of your town and compelled, as jurors are now compelled, to gain evidence for and against particular policies so as to test the public pulse, examine the public mind and, on the basis of such evidence, to render a verdict. In the meanwhile there are a few educational tests that ought to be seriously considered for all persons who wish hereafter to be admitted to the ballot.

What is the total appropriation for the city's (county's, state's, nation's) current expenses this year?
What different kinds of work are being done?
What is the city's sickness rate and death rate?
How many children ought to be in school?
How many are in school?
How many never go beyond the fifth grade?
Are causes of nonpromotion studied?
How many are without sittings?
If subways are to be voted for, what will they cost? Where will they go? How will they relieve congestion?
Are citizen complaints promptly attended to?
What are the principal community needs not yet met?

Sometime a community that sees the necessity for applying a fitness test to scrubwomen, firemen, school teachers, clerks, etc., will also see the advantage of imposing a proper fitness test upon all persons who wish to help determine what a community shall undertake to do through its government, by what means and through what men. Such tests are foreshadowed by tests now suggested for naturalization papers, which emphasize the citizen's rights to protection against fire, extortion, disease, etc., and the agencies and methods for insuring protection.

Should There be Preferential Voting?

Cambridge, Mass., will vote in 1911 whether or not to install preferential voting i. e., expressing first, second, third choice, etc. As in debate rankings,

baseball batting records, horse show or county fair awards, etc., a steady second best will often rank higher than an erratic first choice.

But picking one's first choice is so hard and complicated that except in small "neighborly" places, preferential voting will probably not be either popular or satisfactory.

Should There be Compulsory Voting?

Except where there is unusual excitement a large fraction of qualified voters fail to register and a large fraction who register fail to vote.

Oftentimes the most important elections are those which are quietest and arouse the least interest.

If the number of voters is doubled, the possible evil of the not yet interested voter is certain to increase.

If a man steals sheep he is indefinitely disfranchised (if he is caught and put in prison). Yet not-voting can do much more harm than stealing sheep.

To disfranchise a man for an election when he particularly wants to vote, because he failed to vote at a preceding election, is perfectly fair if we look at suffrage as a right. Any man who fails to exercise a right cannot complain if the right is taken away from him.

But to disfranchise a man for neglecting his duty makes that man incapable of doing that duty next time. Shall the public punish itself for the sake of rebuking the not-voter?

Disfranchising would be difficult to enforce be-

cause there are so many acceptable excuses for staying away from the polls, such as sickness easily certified to by a physician, or urgent business out of the city. Unless innumerable excuses were recognized, fines or disfranchisement for not voting would, in many cases, work injustice.

There are other difficulties, too. The poor day laborer, too tired to go to the polls, ought not to be taxed the same amount as a millionaire who would rather pay one hundred fines than take the trouble to go around the corner to the barber shop or cigar store among people he does not want to know, to cast his ballot for people he does not know.

There is little promise in compulsory voting.

Is the Ballot Too Long?

Obviously, it will not take as much thought to learn about four or five men as about thirty or thirteen. For a time many of us will be carried away with the promises that the short ballot will solve all our difficulties, or as ex-President Eliot says, "is absolutely the gist of all constructive reform — the only way to get rid of bosses and reforms."

If we look around, however, we shall see that in many an election where practically no candidate but the mayor received public attention the worst disgraces were later found to be in the mayor's own departments.

When Mr. Seth Low was elected mayor of New York, public attention was concentrated on two or three men. Yet in the departments immediately sub-

ordinate to Mayor Low administrative evils were left unchanged, such as inadequate accounting, improper control over supplies, padded payrolls, ineffective commissioners of accounts and inspectors of weights and measures. Hence incompetence and waste at the bottom continued to foster corruption. As one political leader said who was known to be in politics for his pocket not his health: "I never made so much money in my life as under 'reform'; then I dealt with the little fellows at the bottom instead of dividing with the big ones at the top."

In few cities where the long ballot (up and down for many offices) is used are the evils greater in the departments presided over by the lesser candidates unknown to the public, than in the other departments for which the lime-lighted mayor, comptroller and prosecuting officer are personally responsible.

Experience with men who are the center of election discussion will start a reaction against the short ballot and will cause the public to say: "If we had only been given a chance to vote on his appointees, he would never have dared to name such obvious incompetents or unworthies."

One weakness of the short ballot remedy is the claim that when we all look at a man — before or after election — we make him responsible for his actions. We must learn that officials, no matter how much we look at them or talk about them, will feel responsible only for what we know of their official acts. If we want accountability for acts the public must know the acts themselves. When looking at the actor, Mayor

McClellan, the now governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson — then president of Princeton University — said he was the best mayor the city ever had. Analysis of his acts made Mayor McClellan's administration a symbol of inefficient organization and extravagant management, as shown by later savings of millions of dollars and later correction of innumerable evils that fostered graft and waste.

For the strongest arguments in support of the short ballot and current discussion of its progress, address The Short Ballot Association, New York City.

Are Nominations Too Indirect?

As the demand grows for a shorter ballot from top to bottom we find another demand for a longer ballot from left to right. *Fewer offices* to vote on is flanked by *more candidates* for each office. Thus the direct nomination of candidates will tend to nullify the advantages of the short ballot.

The convention or indirect method of selecting candidates means ordinarily that a handful of persons decide upon the candidates. Factions within a party try to settle differences before the party votes; that is, they try to "wash their family linen in private." There is so much work in conducting an election that team work is required. It is easier for a party than for factions within it to raise election funds and to conduct a campaign.

But bossism thrives on party solidarity. Irresponsibility to the public thrives on bossism. To get

rid of bossism it is proposed to permit any voter to express his preference for a candidate at primaries without let or hindrance by party or faction. (So far as the voter knows, the man whom he nominates will be unwilling to run.)

Many believe that this method will smash the machine and encourage a higher type of man to seek or to accept public office. The successful candidate will be independent of bosses because bosses did not name him, and loyal to the people because they did name him. Oregon has gone as far as to require that all candidates for the legislature must pledge themselves to give their votes in the legislature to that candidate for United States senator for whom the people in the primaries have expressed a preference. In 1912 the people of Oregon (and four other states already) will express their preference for president and vice-president of the United States, thus binding their delegates to national conventions.

According to one late boss ostensible power to nominate is by no means real power. He said: "This method is equivalent merely to asking the bosses to make their moves one point earlier in the game." In addition to making up his own mind the boss, under the direct nomination system, must make up the minds of a large number of voters before the primary; he must do his educational work or wire pulling or "accelerating" *in advance of the primary* so that the independent voter will want the particular man that he as a boss knows will make good as a running candidate.

The direct nomination has already brought disappointment in many cities. In Boston and Des Moines, for example, it gave a plurality of the total vote to men against whom the reform was particularly directed. Just as the independent voter hopes to divide the boss's power by naming independent candidates, so the boss can easily succeed in dividing the forces of reform by putting an extra reform candidate or two in the field to lessen the leading candidate's support. Thus "popular vote" may be made a scapegoat and party bosses be relieved of odium while retaining power to name candidates.

Like the short ballot, the direct primary *may* be but *need not* be an effective aid. Both are certain to be productive of disappointment.

What advantage have you ever taken of the "direct nomination" in women's clubs?

How has the privilege of direct nomination worked on the school boards that you happen to know?

Are you sure enough that we do not need political parties to justify an experiment which assumes that parties are unmixed evils?

In the long run can we expect better results and more direct accountability from enthusiasm for individual candidates rather than for parties?

For the strongest arguments in support of direct nominations, address The Massachusetts Direct Legislation League, and The Legislative Reference Library, Madison, Wis.

Will the Referendum Help?

Yes, but only *some.*

In 1910 twenty-three state platforms declared for the referendum; that is, submitting important laws proposed by legislature to the public for veto or approval before they become laws.

Curiously, the referendum finds its staunchest support among advocates of the short ballot, although the referendum means a frightfully long ballot when important legislative questions are added to important candidates.

Twenty-one questions plus thirty candidates were submitted to Denver voters in 1910 while Oregon's referendum in that year concerned thirty-two proposed laws plus candidates for state, city and county officers.

That the wholesale referendum in Oregon has been a success everybody admits. In 1910, 117,690 votes were cast for candidates for state offices, and an average of 85,042 were cast on initiative and referendum measures, of which the prohibition law received the highest vote — 104,100 — and the question of county division the lowest vote — 68,326. On the average, since 1902, initiative and referendum measures in Oregon have received three-fourths as many votes as candidates for office.

The chief results of Oregon's 1910 referendum were summarized as follows by *La Follette's Magazine.* In reading them consider how many of these questions justified wholesale referendum and your

own probable interest in similar issues for your state.

What the People Did:

Passed an amendment giving each county the right to say how it shall be taxed

Gave municipalities "home rule" on the liquor question

Enacted a good employer's liability bill

Ordered a new insane asylum built

Abolished what was practically a private fishing monopoly on a public stream.

Made good roads possible by amendment freeing counties from constitutional tax limitation in matter and giving county referendum on bonds for this purpose

Extended the primary law to include choice of delegates to presidential nominations, and choice of rank and file of each party for President of the United States

Made important reforms in judiciary procedure, by allowing a three-fourths jury verdict in civic cases, instructing the higher courts not to reverse just judgments of lower courts on mere technical errors

Ended bitter fight of long standing between three normal schools by taxing themselves for support of the best school and turning down the others

What the People Refused to Do:

Establish "classified property" system of taxation

Adopt state wide prohibition amendment and a search and seizure bill putting it into effect

Establish woman's suffrage

Select a "commission to inquire into the employer's liability question and report to the legislature"

Order an election for delegates to a convention to revise the constitution

Establish separate legislative districts for each member of the general assembly

Increase the salary of a judge

Inaugurate a system of proportional representation

Order printed a bi-monthy *State Official Gazette*, and sent free to the voters, containing news of the state government, etc.

Create eight new counties

Permit state to engage in building railroads

The limited referendum in the eastern states upon various constitutional provisions has not succeeded in interesting a large fraction of voters, although for the most part beneficial results are reported.

There are three weaknesses inherent in the referendum and the initiative:

1. It will always be difficult to take as much interest in proposed laws as in candidates for law making.

2. People would generally let a bad law break down through the weight of its own defects rather than do all over again the work for which they elect legislators; most of us do not want to face a number of crises each year.

3. Popular excitement is apt not to express either public interest or public conviction.

There is so much machinery about election which can be put out of order that bosses can quite conceivably, by clever manipulation, get through the referendum an ostensible moral support which they never could get for bills subject to critical scrutiny in the legislature.

Unquestionably, however, the ranker obvious outrages against public sentiment will be more difficult to perpetrate when a considerable minority has the power to require a state wide ballot.

But people cannot make use of the referendum beyond their own knowledge of what is needed and what is right. Thus we come back as always to between-election seeing and thinking.

Are conditions in Oregon sufficiently like those in your state to make it likely that Oregon's success with the referendum will be duplicated in your state?

Is there danger that people will become tired of having to act upon laws as well as upon men?

If we are to have both the referendum and the initiative, what is the use of having a legislature and why not have postal card votes or newspaper votes or count the noses at mass meetings and on street corners?

For the facts regarding initiative and referendum, address *Bulletin 21*, Legislative Reference Department, Madison, Wisconsin. To keep in touch with these topics, address Massachusetts Direct Legislation League, Boston, for arguments and for its two bulletins, *Initiative and Referendum, an Effective*

Ally of Representative Government by Louis Jerome Johnson, and *The Initiative and Referendum in State Legislation* by C. H. Talbot. Ask your senator or congressman to send you Senator Bourne's speech, Senate No. 524, 1910, for Oregon's experience and Senate documents 516 and 529 for Senator Owen's pleas for a national advisory initiative and referendum.

Referendum's Official Hand Book: Oregon

To protect voters against one sided arguments or questions referred to them (by the legislative assembly, by petition of the people or by initiative petition) Oregon prints and distributes to voters' addresses one hand book of pros and cons.

This indexed hand book in 1910 contained 208 pages. The order of presentation is (1) statement of the measure submitted; (2) the way proposals appear on the official ballot; (3) argument for; (4) argument against.

The first measure in the pamphlet for 1910 was the woman suffrage amendment which was later defeated. For sample copy send to Secretary of State, Salem, Oregon.

If your state or city does not yet issue a hand book of pros and cons, why should not the woman's club offer to print a volume in which each side may put forward its "best foot"— its strongest argument?

Will the Initiative Help?

Yes, but again only *some*.

Like the referendum, the direct nomination and the recall — and woman suffrage — it is bound to be tried. Not because it is a panacea, but because there is no conclusive reason in logic or in practice for not having it. It will be disappointing, confusing and expensive. But, like many other things which we want badly when we want them, the possibilities of the initiative in an emergency, when issues are clearly drawn between the interest of the few and the interest of the many, will make it a "very present help in time of trouble."

Just as soon as bosses, party managers and lobbyists are unable "to deliver the goods," that is, unable to keep promises, it becomes unprofitable to employ them. What is the use of spending a lot of money to elect men pledged to stand pat on railroad legislation if the initiative and referendum may force remedial legislation in spite of the legislator's pledges to his employers? For the same reasons that corrupt interests will hesitate to try to jam through the legislature dishonest and anti-social measures which may be later vetoed by popular vote, they will see that it is no longer necessary to pay anybody to protect them against unjust legislation introduced solely for the purpose of forcing them to pay "blood money."

If too many bills are initiated by petition the

public will be bored and will not act favorably upon them.

The chief danger from the initiative and referendum is that people will not see their limitations. This danger is greater even than that great mistakes will be made and rash legislation passed. People have a right to make mistakes if only they will learn from them. But as the initiative and referendum come, it will be increasingly important for the civic agencies which endeavor to inform and direct public sentiment to reduce to a minimum the diversion of energy from the real work of government to constant voting for and against measures submitted by a minority of interested citizens.

Citizens, whether voters or not, should remember that any citizen can now initiate a law if he or she can persuade one legislator to introduce it. To this initiative much of our best lawmaking — and much of the worst — is due.

For current information as to the progress of the initiative, address Massachusetts Direct Legislation League, Boston, Mass.

Will the Recall Help?

Yes, a great deal if not applied to judges, no matter how many mistakes are made in learning how to use it efficiently.

Why should not the voters who elect a mayor *unelect* him if he violates his pledges or proves himself incompetent? What possible excuse is there for tying our hands for two years or four years

simply because a plurality in the midst of election excitement votes for what it thinks is the best of several candidates for a job?

A great impetus has recently been given to the recall by the Seattle election mentioned on page 38 when the newly enfranchised women recalled a mayor who stood for "an open town."

In Boston, where a mayor is elected every four years, the new charter provides that automatically at the end of two years the public shall be asked whether or not it wishes to have another election for mayor.

A second kind of recall was illustrated in New York City when Governor Hughes removed two borough presidents for incompetence "albeit no evidence of personal dishonesty was shown." This is the recall by judicial investigation and executive removal. It may be brought about by less than 20%, in fact by only one citizen and without any election excitement or confusion. All that is needed to be proved is that an official has been incompetent or dishonest. This proof can be given by one man, by a small group of men or by a civic organization.

This recall, however, necessary as it should be regarded in every state, can never take the place of recall by ballot because it depends too much upon the efficiency, courage and integrity of the governor. There has been many a governor of New York who would have refused to remove any elective official for gross incompetence unless — or even if — personal dishonesty was proved.

If the recall by ballot is frequently tried, party lines will be drawn as in the election and conditions must seem hopeless before the public will be willing to go through the excitement of a second election.

The advocates of the recall must be prepared for a great many mistakes. Washington, Lincoln and Cleveland would have been recalled if denied time to vindicate their policies by results. It is more than likely that Governor Hughes could have been recalled several times, notably after his veto of the bill which would have reduced railroad fares to two cents a mile. Within twelve months after Mayor Gaynor of New York was the object of almost universal acclaim throughout the country, there were at least two times in 1910 when it is probable he would have been recalled had a popular vote been taken. I refer to police troubles in August and September and to subway delays in October and November. Yet the threat of a new election would have contributed no light on these situations, for properly settling which information was lacking.

In proportion as evidence is furnished currently about the acts of officials may either kind of recall be exercised without serious injury.

The recall to be just and effective must take it for granted that the public is not going to recall an officer who has been efficient. This means that the public must take steps to know whether or not, and with respect to what particular duties, an officer has been efficient or inefficient. Because the public for generations to come will not have the time or the

ability to inform itself with respect to the law and the facts involved in discontent with judicial rulings, recall of judges will be fraught with danger.

The recall is surely coming. For its first appearance see the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. For direct testimony write to the officers of Los Angeles and Berkeley, Calif., Des Moines and Burlington, Ia., Haverhill and Gloucester, Mass., Colorado Springs and Grand Junction, Colo., and Seattle and Tacoma, Wash.

For samples of state laws write to the secretaries of state of South Dakota, Oregon, Montana, Oklahoma, Maine, Missouri, Arkansas and Arizona.

Will Government by Commission Help?

For a while, yes. When we substitute a commission of five or seven men for a mayor and comptroller plus a council plus a board of aldermen, we give the public a higher order of tools with which to work. At the same time we give the "machine" a higher order of tools with which to misgovern.

To paraphrase and contradict a recent summary of the "achievement of commission government":

1. It will *not* abolish party politics from local affairs. (It really simplifies the task of party politics.)
2. It will *not* eliminate the boss, the grafter and the political machine. (Write to Memphis for illustration.)
3. It does *not* necessarily view a municipality as a great business enterprise and provide accord-

ingly for its effective management. (Even in Des Moines commissioners are elected without specification of duties in advance and so far as the public knows the engineer will be made comptroller and the financial expert put in charge of public works because the commission itself places its own members.)

4. It does *not* of itself recognize the failure of representative government and substitute therefore a system of democracy.
5. It does not of itself establish direct responsibility for every public act. (Direct responsibility there cannot be unless the public knows about the acts. Most commission cities have not yet provided means of informing either the commission or the public regarding official acts.)
6. It need *not* be swift, efficient, economic, however well adapted to a rational community in the twentieth century. (The misgovernment in New York, which Mayor Gaynor was elected to correct, was due to a commission government. The delays in dealing with the subway question are again due solely to New York's commission government. When reading the extravagant, almost fulsome eulogies to the commission form of government in Galveston, Des Moines, Memphis and fourscore other cities in the United States, please do not forget that for ninety-nine out of one hundred conditions in New York City the board of estimate and apportionment is solely responsible and is nothing more nor less than commission government. To abolish the present board of aldermen would add nothing to the competence and little to the freedom of the board of estimate and apportionment.)
7. It need *not* abolish a raft of useless offices, sine-

cures, jobs and political rewards while substituting for them organization in method and work.

There will soon be a great reaction against it because its advocates have talked too much of the tool and too little of the work which the tool should facilitate. Nothing can save an uninformed public from being exploited by its officials and those behind its officials.

For the strongest statement in support of the commission form of government see *The Dethronement of the City Boss* by John H. Hamilton. For arguments pro and con and for clippings, address the H. W. Wilson Company, Minneapolis, and the Legislative Reference Library, Madison, Wis.

In August, 1911, former Comptroller Herman A. Metz of New York City, asked the Bureau of Municipal Research to make, at his expense, a field study of several commission cities. Henry Bruère, director, and William Shepherdson, C. E., C. P. A., are making the study, which promises to be of service to the whole country, because devoted to methods and results as well as to the aims of this recently emphasized form of government.

Are There Too Many Elections?

At the very time when we are hearing most about referendum, initiative and recall, with their possibilities of new elections every few months, we also hear much about the advantage of fewer elections.

National elections should be separate from state elections because no matter how many officers are on the ticket attention focuses on the presidential candidates and national issues. With issues, as with men, they seem bigger as their area grows. So state elections should be separate from local elections in order to keep local needs clearly distinguished.

Unquestionably it has helped some to have biennial instead of annual elections, then elections every four years. But reducing the number of elections may easily mean increasing the helplessness of the public. A comparison of mayors in cities that have substituted quadriennial for annual elections does not indicate that a higher type of man seeks or accepts the office than formerly. An examination of results, whether in cities, church clubs or business organizations, fails to show that the mere increase in the length of term has any certain effect upon the character of work done.

Longer terms do, however, tend to give permanent employés under civil service a better chance to become efficient.

Can you remember when you first heard serious talk of a life presidency?

Do you sympathize with the demand for a term of six or eight years?

In your city is it the politicians or reformers who say we cannot expect men to accept public posts when they must give up their business or their life work for a short tenure of public office?

Which officials whom you know seem to be keeping their eyes on reëlection when their terms are short?

Have your bosses been less or more arrogant and less or more successful as the number of elections has decreased?

Getting Back to Definite Steps and Needs

While all these short cuts are being tested, a larger and larger number of voters will come to see that there is remarkably little difference between the days before and the days after the various changes have been effected. People will vote wrong on the referendum. They will make the initiative and recall public nuisances. The short ballot and commission government will prove to be great simplifiers for the politician and corruptionist as well as for the good citizen. Each short cut, even woman suffrage itself, will bring most of its promises unfulfilled back to haunt its proposers.

But it takes less time than formerly to see the failure or limitation of experiments. As the same definite needs figure in the argument for each short cut, people are going to see that more direct means than election and lawmaking must be found for meeting these needs.

After the referendumites, recallites, short ballotites, suffrageites, and others, have all cited unclean streets, the social evil, or public extravagance as reasons for trying their short cuts, the public will begin to ask whether we shall always have with us

the social evil, public waste, unclean streets, etc. The definite evils will gradually come to be regarded as more important than the short cuts, for the public will not go on being deceived contrary to evidence constantly before it. The stratagem of partisanship, and likewise public impatience, will gradually emphasize individual steps — whatever the form of government or length of ballot — necessary to correct evils.

The sooner the voter begins to think of the next steps, entirely apart from short cuts, the sooner will she become an important factor in getting good government. The hardest man for politicians to handle is the man who makes up his own mind about definite next steps. People who watch the high and low water marks do not need expert advice about the tides.

When men and women stop talking about the ballot, legislation, and short cuts to good government, and begin to talk about next steps that can be taken to-morrow, they will marvel at the emphasis heretofore given to voting. They will see that election day is a snare and a delusion, that the ballot may be the badge of disfranchisement, election privileges but a dunce's cap to flatter the simple-minded, and uninformed good intention capable of doing more harm than stalking corruption.

The thing which makes officials perform right acts *is what the public knows, and not the ballot.* That is the real reason for such superiority as foreign governments possess over ours. If the money now

spent on primaries and elections could be used for four years in focusing the attention of American cities on next steps, democracy would become a reality and would find its highest expression where now its greatest failures are noted, the American city.

What ten next steps are most needed by your community?
Of these, how many require legislation?
Of those that require legislation, how many are looked at in the same way by the whole community?
Of those next steps that do not require legislation, how many are looked at in the same way by the whole community?

Some Things the Ballot Cannot Do

The ballot has serious limitations which time will aggravate, not diminish.

The ballot cannot work 365 days in the year. Government must.

The ballot cannot make the selection of political officers the chief business of citizenship, nor can it prevent the practical disfranchisement of those voters, no matter how good or how erudite, who are uninformed as to official acts and community needs.

The ballot cannot administer justice, detect the padding in payrolls, disclose waste of millions in supplies, give every child a seat in school, remove dark rooms and school sinks, or study conditions that foster misgovernment.

The ballot cannot inspect goods and asphalt, audit payrolls, discharge inefficient employés, substitute modern for obsolete methods, watch the acts or change the habits of 1,000 or 85,000 city employés. Nor can it tell the difference between two platforms and two candidates that promise the same benefits. Because it deals with men not acts, it cannot furnish a basis upon which a whole community can speak with one voice.

The ballot cannot make guesses equal facts, or desire to do equal ability to do. It can never reflect a goodness that the voter does not possess, express an opinion not held by the voter, protest against evils of which the voter is ignorant or demand benefits not pictured by the voter.

The ballot cannot learn or tell whether it has missed its mark.

VI

A METHOD OF STUDY WITHIN THE REACH OF ALL

The Power of Knowing

MISGOVERNMENT and inefficiency have been due not to man's lower nature but to the public's ignorance of what was happening when it happened. Official love of applause is stronger than greed or fear of being turned out. There is no hope for representative government unless citizens, male and female, stop "big Injun" talk of punishing offenders and displace the tomahawk with a searchlight.

Public officers are not always thinking of the next election any more than are Methodist ministers. Officials have acted nearer to their moral light than has the public. Almost always a public officer is clever enough to see some better way out of a difficulty than the one which the public *agrees upon as inefficient.*

Those of our representatives who have committed illegal and anti-social acts are not so much afraid of jail as of being "found out" by those whom they meet every day.

Democracy's power depends upon and is limited to democracy's knowing. Therefore the importance of publishing campaign contributions and before not after election.

A southern woman once wrote me that she did not see how knowing would help her church society oust the superintendent of an almshouse, who was said to be a debased and debasing creature. I wrote her

a rather general letter, enclosing some municipal research pamphlets about "open public eye" vs. "aroused public conscience," and received a reply that she still couldn't see how that affected the almshouse situation because everybody knew this superintendent was a terrible man who swore and drank, etc., etc.

It was obvious that unless the searchlight remedy could help a country almshouse we could not be sure that it would help great cities. I then suggested that swearing and drinking were not regarded as disqualifications for office even south of Mason and Dixon's line, and asked her:

What ought the farm to produce?
How much did he report?
What ought the food to cost?
What did he make it cost?
What care should be given the sick?
Did he give that care?

The superintendent was permitted to resign.

When Does Knowing Become Evidence?

The *knowing* that I mean is *not* mere *feeling sure. Knowing becomes evidence when it is able to prove the truth to those who do not know and who do not want to know.*

A man's signature is evidence. So is a thumb print, or marked money.

An empty coal bin is evidence of lack of coal; it is not evidence that coal has been stolen. A written record over some responsible man's signature

showing how much coal was paid for, could not be used as evidence to prove waste until a conclusive record was found showing:

1. The amount of coal remaining.

2. Difference between amount paid for and amount remaining.

3. Minimum amount that need have been burned to heat properly rooms of a given size.

Evidence is called for more to-day than it was ten years ago or even five years ago. With the possible exception of the city chamberlain of New York, who recently got lost for seven weeks while a legislative investigating committee wanted him as a witness on legislative bribery, it would be almost impossible to find in the United States the jocose assumption which characterized the public official of 1871, *that of course the public would not look for evidence.* New York's mayor at that time replied to charges against him and his associates in office by reference to frauds in the federal government, but oftener by facetious jests such as, "These warm yet occasionally breezy days, with charmingly cool mornings and evenings, are an indication that we are likely to have what befell Adam, an early fall." Thanks to evidence his boss, Mr. Tweed, got a tardy but effective fall. Thanks to evidence Mr. Meyers' *History of Tammany Hall* is more thrilling than fiction.

Voters have been misled so often by claims of rival candidates, and have found later that there was evidence which might have been obtained to

prevent a miscarriage of justice or misrepresentation, that more and more of them are asking *what is the evidence, what is the record?* This was particularly true in the elections of 1910. Never before did there seem so big a gap between calling names and evidence, and between demand for confidence in a party and proof that a party had earned the confidence.

Testing Evidence: "Desire to Know"

In securing evidence there are eight steps,— eight simple ingredients,— which will be briefly treated here. For detailed description see *Efficient Democracy.*

These eight ingredients are: 1. Desire to know. 2. Unit of inquiry. 3. Counting. 4. Comparing. 5. Subtraction. 6. Percentages. 7. Summary. 8. Classification.

In the summer of 1910 the acting mayor of New York stated that open gambling and flagrant vice existed; the mayor said there was no foundation in fact for this statement. I asked a business man what he thought of the situation. He replied, "How can a man believe the acting mayor without disbelieving the mayor?" The alternative of disbelieving either was unwelcome to this business man who said he would waive judgment until he could get the evidence. This evidence came later in well supported official statements, press announcements, a number of indictments, the resignation of the police

commissioner, and the reorganization from top to bottom of the police department.

Have you ever believed a charge that you afterwards found to be untrue?

Have you ever been misled by statements in a newspaper?

Can you recall any campaign lies?

Have you ever known a disagreement in a woman's club or church to be settled after evidence had been substituted for rumor?

Are you conscious of an unwillingness to believe damaging statements about an official, or a minister or another woman, until you have seen conclusive evidence?

Are you conscious of a temptation to shun evidence and to take sides for or against parties and individuals without reference to the facts?

Do you see that people wishing your support will vary their conduct according to your use of evidence in hand and your method of trying to get evidence?

Testing Evidence: "Unit of Inquiry" and "Count"

A great deal of time is sure to be lost in discussion if people are not talking of the same unit of inquiry. Acquire the serviceable habit of beginning the consideration of each public matter with two questions: *Of what are we talking? Of how many units of that thing are we talking?*

Dr. F. A. Cleveland, one of the directors of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and

chairman of President Taft's "Efficiency Commission," is very effective when under fire from people who are careless about their unit of inquiry and their counting. At a certain committee meeting he and the method of municipal accounting outlined by him for New York City were bitterly attacked. When an eloquent and persuasive gentleman finished a sweeping, general indictment of Dr. Cleveland and his accounting proposals, the latter said: "I should be the last to deny these sweeping charges. It is more than likely that they are all true. But will the gentleman please state to what particular defects he is referring?"

In October, 1910, social workers desiring to protest against the curtailment of a school board budget heard a convincing speech about the harm done by large classes. The group of sentiment shapers were aroused to indignation by the mere thought of teachers having sixty or even seventy children in one class. Of course, the school board should have *every dollar* of the seven million dollar increase requested in its estimate! When asked how much of the seven million dollar increase requested would be used for reducing the size of classes, the official representative of the board of education replied, "Not one cent." It was worth while, you see, sticking to the *unit of inquiry*.

By confusing the *unit of inquiry*, enemies of prohibition have recently shown that prohibitory laws "really tend to increase the consumption of alcoholic beverages, especially the stronger spirits." In

support of this claim is the evidence that more intoxicating liquor by twenty-three million gallons was consumed in the United States during the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1910, than during the preceding twelve months.

When, however, the *unit of inquiry* is narrowed down to the increase or decrease in each state, it appears that the prohibition states, Alabama, Georgia, Kansas, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Tennessee show a decrease of 739,000 gallons of distilled liquors consumed, or over 50% decrease; while in other prohibition states only the Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire districts show any increase and that but 597 gallons. In contrast with these decreases New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois show an increase of nearly 4,000,000 gallons.

Stick to the *unit of inquiry* and compel a *count.*

Testing Evidence: "Comparison"

The "deadly parallel" is an effective method of making public men see themselves as "ithers see them."

To the citizen it is useful as a means of showing whether facts justify impression.

Women use double columns in laundry slips and whist scores. Men use them in baseball and football scores. Of increasing prominence is the parallel column in reports of charitable and public institutions which wish to advertise this year's growth over last year's.

When a president of the United States calls some

man or woman a liar the new member of the Ananias Club begs permission of the newspaper to set side by side the president's statement and some "Maria letter" or previous official utterance.

When Mayor Gaynor of New York City rebuked the newspapers for their scandalmongering and for traducing their city's fair name, they found it serviceable to print in three parallel columns three statements by Mr. Gaynor:

Judge Gaynor, New Rochelle, February 1, 1910.	Mayor Gaynor, October 5, 1910.	Mayor Gaynor, December 22, 1910.
"Do you think the government of the city of New York was ever so base, vulgar and corrupt as for a part of the time under its present charter? . . . Those put in rulership over the city . . . and those whose mere puppets they were in office were all the time in it up to their very armpits."	"Let me hope that this city, as orderly a city as there is in the world, will never be held up by persons or newspapers as a mere refuge or home of unfortunate women and gamblers."	"When we look about and see the dishonesty and graft which exists now, we cannot wish to add thereto by putting the operation of our railroads in official hands."

When people talk of advantages, progress, going backward, etc., ask always for parallel columns. Be satisfied with no reports of work done which lack the "deadly parallel." When describing what votes for women will do for government, stop to compare what votes for women in private hospitals, charities and the home have done.

By counting *treatments given* without comparing them with *results of treatment* it has been possible to treat patients too hurriedly and too perfunctorily; to advise them to do the impossible; to send

them back to conditions certain to break down their health; to fail to instruct them in self care; to treat them over and over again for the same undiscovered social causes. For a study in *comparison* write to the Boston Dispensary for the first report of its Social Service Department.

Making Pin Maps

There is a tradition that women and pins are congenial. I hope it is true, because one of the best next steps for women, whether they vote or not, is to make "pin maps" to describe graphically the social work in which they are most interested.

What is a pin map? At New York City's budget exhibit in 1910 was a large map with a lot of red and blue and white pins on it. Red pins marked the house for every baby death from diarrheal diseases; blue pins marked baby deaths from diarrheal diseases at institutions like hospitals or infant asylums; white pins located dispensaries and milk stations. A glance at this map showed where babies were dying, which means where mothers were least informed and where nurses and physicians ought to be busy with their educational work.

Try making pin maps to show where the truant officer visits; where the hospital patients come from; where the hospital welfare nurse visits; where the visiting teacher goes; where scarlet fever or typhoid runs its course; where tuberculous patients live; where streets are cleaned too seldom; where there are holes in the asphalt; where moving pictures are.

Pin maps will not only help you compare what you are trying to do with what you get done, but will make it easier to secure funds for your work from philanthropists and taxpayers.

Testing Evidence: "Subtraction" and "Percentages"

Serviceable as the parallel column is most of us are too indolent to subtract column one from column two to see what the difference is.

The only common language with which to describe difference is *percentage* that gives us always the same denominator,—100. It also trains us to think always of the whole of our problem,—100%. It is just as practical for reckoning growth of attendance at school as for studying interest on money.

When public officials or private citizens want taxpayers to vote more money, the plausible reason is given (when it is true and oftentimes when it is not), is "Our city is growing."

If the chief reason for spending more money on a health department this year than last year is that the city is growing, surely the additional amount of money ought to be in some proportion to the addition to the size of the city. To bring out the relative increase in population, in the total budget and in various departmental expenses, the Bureau of Municipal Research published in 1910 a table showing ten years' growth as follows:

City's population	39%
Total budget	80%

Property valuation	52%
Health department budget	160%
Law department budget	111%
Charities department budget	102%
Finance department budget	100%
Education department budget	96%
Park department (all) budget	84%
Brooklyn and Queens budget	109%
The Bronx budget	89%
Manhattan and Richmond budget	71%
Fire department budget	68%
Correction department budget	67%
Street cleaning department budget	50%
Tax and assessment department budget	48%
Police department budget	33%

What more helpful course could be given to women wishing to fit themselves for efficient study of public questions than a course in rapid computation of *percentages* applied to current public questions, such as each candidate's share of total votes, each taxpayer's proportion of taxes paid, proportion of not-promoted children in overcrowded classes, etc.? As soon as women begin to think of government and civic affairs in terms of *percentages*, there will be less talk of throwing *percentage* out of school courses in arithmetic.

It is surprising how few men just out of college can compute *percentage*. I recently had at work on health and budget figures a star graduate from a woman's college and a highly commended student from a man's college. When I asked them to compute certain percentages both looked as amazed as

if I had asked them to jump out of our nine-story window.

Testing Evidence: "Summary"

"The story in a nut shell" should always precede the details. One reason why reports by public officials and by charitable agencies have not had greater influence is that the writers themselves have failed to get the "meat" out of their story.

The women's clubs of your city can be of great service if they will see that all official reports give at the very beginning a summary of their year's work, based upon and supported by proper *count*, *comparison* and *percentages*. No matter what the problem is, there are always some half-dozen crucial tests of progress that can be briefly stated in summary form. Efficient private organizations have come to see this, notably business enterprises in reporting to their stockholders.

Instead of long rambling talks with one detail after another, people who want to prove things about candidates or about public business or private philanthropy ought first to get all their facts; then set them up clearly so that any one who reads can be sure what they mean; and then introduce them with a summary as if to say: *This is what I am going to prove; these are the facts that prove it.*

Testing Evidence: "Classification"

When facts regarding different problems or different men are all mixed up with one another, the

best of summaries will tell only a confusing story no matter how carefully percentages are worked out.

Therefore, every person wishing to ask intelligent questions and to reach intelligent conclusions should acquire the habit of insisting upon *classification of facts.*

Cases of tuberculosis ought not to be mixed up with deaths from tuberculosis, for it is important always to contrast cases and deaths. Infant deaths ought not to be mixed up with adult deaths because no lesson can be learned from death statistics which fail to indicate the problem involved in the deaths reported and the next steps which should be taken. When deaths from diarrheal diseases among infants of one year of age are reported by themselves, the health department or the women's clubs or any mother can get an idea of the amount of work necessary to stop young infants from dying because of preventable diseases.

Do not let people mix up in one statement a man's domestic virtues, business inefficiency, good looks and church affiliations. Insist upon having his public acts put off by themselves.

It will help in asking questions and in reading evidence to have always in mind the eight ingredients of proof, namely: *desire to know, unit of inquiry, count, comparison, subtraction, percentages, summary, classification.*

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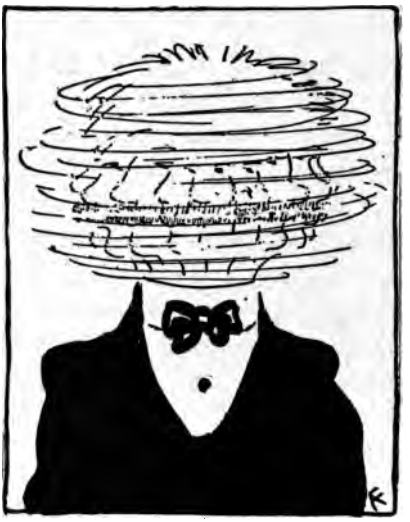
PORTRAIT OF PERSON WHO HAS FOLLOWED COURSE OF CHARTER



New York World, Sept. 27, 1911

(Front: One of 50 charter bulletins sent to legislators, editors, taxpayers)

Bureau of Municipal Research
261 Broadway, New York
Efficient Citizenship, 504

CHARTER EVIDENCE DEFEATED CHARTER DANGERS

VII

NEXT STEPS IN EFFECTIVE PUBLICITY

Systematizing Use of Newspaper and Magazine

Of all our inconsistencies none is less pardonable than our talk against newspapers, "yellow journalism," "scandal-mongering editors," etc.

Who of us, if compelled to choose, would exchange the information and training which we receive from newspaper and magazine for the information and training received at college?

Who of us, if compelled to choose, could not afford to give up the benefits received from Sunday sermons rather than the benefits from newspaper and magazine?

Even if an individual were sure that she was not profiting when reading newspapers or magazines, she could not afford to ignore them as sources of power for any public cause which she wished to further. Equally potential for evil as for good is their influence in her community.

News is a great educator. No good cause can afford to avoid being news. If your newspapers have special reporters for describing any cause which is of general public concern you cannot make a better investment than to furnish them news while it is still news. It is not fair to newspapers or to readers whom you wish to reach through newspapers to confine your public statements to appeals for funds.

A college graduate interested in women's work in New York City has recently persuaded a number of

men and women to join in writing letters to newspapers about school questions. For example, they say to Dr. ABC, "There is danger of a reduction in the number of teachers of physical training. Will you write to the morning *Times* protesting against such reduction and emphasize particularly the importance of physical training in the fight against tuberculosis?" There is a certain definite thing which Dr. ABC can do and he gladly does it.

Nothing can stop a reiterated idea from exerting influence. Quack medicine vendors appreciate this. In a current comedy a distinguished-looking man is greeted by men and women in all walks of life with the question, "Where have I met you before?" He promptly takes the pose which billboards and gum drop boxes have made familiar and announces proudly "I am the Gum Drop King!"

You can write a protest. It is quite as important to write praise. You can write questions; you can state the purpose of an organization; you can give the results of experiments; you can harness a newspaper to your educational program. Editors will recognize your desire for anonymity and if you request (but sign your name and address) will call you Pro Bono Publico or Amicus. Many times they will preserve your anonymity by failing to print your letters; even then you influence the editors.

Letting newspapers know how you feel may easily be a more important gift to your community than your contributions to charity.

Any cause which is too refined or too exclusive to

benefit from an understanding of it by newspapers and newspaper readers will, as a rule, not deserve general support.

Volunteer Voters' Leagues

Ballots do not describe candidates.

There will never be a time when candidates for office may be chosen exclusively from men and women well known and favorably known to all voters.

Unknown men must be nominated, and will seek nomination as one means of becoming known.

Known and unknown candidates are equally subject to misrepresentation.

The party or faction that backs a candidate naturally minimizes his weak points and exaggerates his strong points; his opponents naturally minimize his strong points and exaggerate his weak points. Both sides aim to confuse issues and facts about candidates. Hence the independent non-partisan voters' league, which tells who and what candidates are,— *a continuing memory and reporter for the people.*

Wherever public education through voters' leagues has been tried, it has been found that voters will read answers to important questions:

What has he done?
What and who are his business associates?
What are his political affiliations?
How did he vote as alderman or assemblyman?
What did he get done as mayor or police commissioner?

Where such record publishing has been tried over a period of years, it has become increasingly difficult for *obviously* unfit men to secure nomination.

The only safe secret is the one which nobody knows. If one hundred men in a large city have damaging information regarding a candidate and he knows it, he is afraid these facts will jump out at him at every meeting he addresses, and every time he asks a voter for his vote.

The voters' league becomes a sort of umpire and forces the whole community to use its information. The mere prospect of unfavorable notice strengthens opposition to a candidate within his own party before his nomination. Actual unfavorable notice weakens his mixing power as candidate and strengthens his opponent.

Much of this work breaks down because voters' leagues frequently do not begin to work until just before election time. They fail to follow the records of individual candidates after election time by watching the routine work of council meetings and legislatures and the administration by executive officers. It should be recognized that those who lead must keep currently informed, or else they cannot, however wise, tell the truth about the record of candidates or parties.

Making Party Platforms

Ballots do not make platforms.

Party platforms have too often been made with a desire to throw dust in voters' eyes.

An illustration of platform evasion is the National Republican platform in 1908, which everybody thought promised revision of tariff downward. After election time, the public was told that scientific revision of the tariff meant leveling up as well as down,— up anyway, down if there were facts and time.

As the way to begin educating a child is to start with his grandfather, so the way to begin to influence a party platform is to get sentiment for a project "in the air" long before the platform is written. In doing this woman can help individually and collectively.

For the platform that will be finally presented in October, women should have a tentative draft of those portions in which they are interested at least two months earlier, and through the press should force public discussion of these provisions. If women are to remain non-partisan, or if they are to be intelligently partisan, they must learn to describe platforms, to compare them with each other, to compare platform statements with candidates' pledges, with obvious public needs, and with obvious next steps.

Have you ever read a party platform through?
Do you ordinarily read more than one party platform?
Have you compared platform utterances with later official acts?
Have you thought that knowing a platform was essential to intelligent voting?

The Governors' Conference, 172 West Eighty-first St., New York City, issued in November, 1910, its bulletin No. 2. entitled, *Party Platforms for 1910 Condensed Under Subjects.* The sub-title reads:

> *Vital questions before the states of the Union to-day as expressed in the platforms of the two great political parties, classified under one hundred headings. This presentation of principles, policies, ideals, trends and tendencies gives the principal details on all the important subjects relating to government reform in the different states.*

A similar title and sub-title could be given to a statement of the various platforms in your next municipal and state elections.

When New Laws Are Made

Ballots do not study proposed new laws.

Thirty thousand new laws were proposed in the United States congress in the first three weeks of December, 1910. Yet it is one of the arguments for woman suffrage that women will make a lot of new laws!

Of making new laws there has been no end. We are law-ridden. As an officer of an insurance company recently said at a legislative inquiry, "We need a law to stop the making of laws."

If women want to participate effectively in legislation, they would do well first to appoint committees and engage experts to make a complete list of the laws that ought to be repealed.

As each new law is proposed questions like these should be asked:

Is it based upon obvious need or upon desire to enforce some existing law?

Would the same public opinion which will pass it also pass a more comprehensive measure for allied needs? (For example, do not agitate a whole state to abolish the common drinking cup when with the same wave of public interest you can secure medical examination and treatment of school children plus the abolition of the offensive and dangerous common cup.)

To be a real force in legislation women must not only see the need for laws but —

Must organize a lobby to educate legislators and voters

Secure the insertion of news items and editorials explaining and supporting right measures

Secure at state headquarters a reference library where copies of correct existing legislation on each subject may be obtained

Secure in every city either reference libraries or reference divisions of other libraries from which those interested can learn all about each law proposed

See that the same wave which gets the law is made to follow up the law until it is put in effective operation

Keep track of its enforcement by asking direct questions of newspapers and officers

What happens when laws are passed without follow-up work on their enforcement is illustrated by

New York City's ordinance reducing the number of push carts and increasing the fee for each push cart. As the number of push cart competitors decreased, of course the value of each license increased so that it shortly became worth $25.00 a year to own a push cart license. The difference between $2.50, the legal fee, and $25.00, the market value of the license, did not go to the city but to the city's inspectors, aldermen and political go-betweens. Thus legislation intended to correct one evil was used *to manufacture other evils much worse and to debauch public officers and push cart peddlers.* In like manner practically every law designed to correct evils becomes an active manufacturer of evil unless those who have it passed see that it is enforced in good faith and not used as a means of blackmail.

Women will find as soon as they join the "fourth estate" and go to legislative halls to secure the passage of new laws that they are being *accelerated.* This term was used by a famous New York lobbyist, Lemuel E. Quigg, to describe bogus mass meetings of good citizens and the long petitions and innumerable letters which he was able to secure in support of certain street railway interests. He did not like to call it bribing or hoodwinking or misrepresenting public opinion but pretended that the opinion existed, and that he was merely making easy its expression; that is, accelerating it.

A good example of acceleration was the general demand of New York City in 1906 for the acquisition of a seaside park. Educators, lawyers, philan-

thropists, social workers and business men wrote letters to their representatives at Albany and to the newspapers urging the passage of a bill that would permit New York City to buy a strip of land on the Atlantic Ocean either at Rockaway Beach or at Long Beach. Later it was discovered that while we were laboring so earnestly with obstreperous legislators, those particular legislators were in the pay of the people who wished to sell the land to the city and wanted the bill passed. Thus accelerating public opinion gave the legislators an appearance of yielding to an honest interest in a seaside hospital and playground.

Those desiring to learn how to get together in support of legislation, how to draft laws and to study what laws now exist, should get in touch with the Legislative Reference Library, Madison, Wisconsin, the American Association for Improving Labor Legislation, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City, and the National Child Labor Committee, 105 E. Twenty-second St., New York City.

Woman Lobbying: Watching Legislation

Ballots do not watch legislation.

In 1907–08 the newspapers and magazines of the country were full of statements by and about *The People's Lobby.* This was an organization whose purpose was to throw a searchlight upon bills introduced into congress.

It was prophesied that the people's lobby would lead the way to the people's intelligence and to the

prevention of evil practices in congress. The lobby was discontinued in 1908 not because the idea underlying it was not sound, but because, (1) too much was attempted for the money available, and, (2) not enough was attempted to do what the projectors had in mind.

Every town board, city council, county board of supervisors and legislature should be under the scrutiny of a people's lobby.

No private body will ever be strong enough or rich enough to spend the money needed to get the truth out of confused legislative sessions or out of confused records. Hence, we must make sure that public officials are themselves by official reports, carrying a searchlight with respect to themselves and their associates in public office. Secondly, we must read the story of results of legislation not merely at election time or when legislative bodies are in session, but throughout the year. Only by continuous light can the public have continuing memory.

The best representative at legislative meetings is the newspaper. Newspapers live by selling news. They cater to the wishes of their readers so far as they can ascertain them. Any considerable number of citizens who are dissatisfied with the reports given by their newspapers of legislative meetings can easily obtain the right kind of report if they will make their wishes known to editors.

Municipal Reference Libraries

Ballots do not systematize knowledge.

A few years ago the Legislative Reference Library was started by Charles McCarthy, in Madison, Wisconsin. It is connected both with the university and the legislature. In fact, it has become a part of practically every agency in the state of Wisconsin. The story of the service rendered by that library is a veritable romance which you may obtain by writing for it.

Legislators in a comparatively short time have seen the superiority of definite information over guess work. Before drafting bills they want to study other similar bills. Before voting they want to know the experience of other states with similar measures.

The legislative and administrative reference idea was quickly applied to municipalities.

The proceedings of the Buffalo (1910) meeting of the National Municipal League (North American Building, Philadelphia) will contain a report by the committee on municipal reference libraries which made several important recommendations applicable to you:

1. That every community have a center responsible for collecting and digesting information that bears upon its municipal service
2. That this center be as near as possible to the city officials who should be encouraged to use it and who will use it if access is made easy
3. That except possibly in a few large cities this library be under the supervision of the public

library partly for the purpose of strengthening the reference work and partly to keep the public library in touch with the current problems of its community

Is "Budget" a Stranger to You?

Do you know what budget means?
When did you first hear the term?
Do you know when your city's budget is passed?
Did your minister ever mention the city budget in a sermon?
Has it been suggested that you have a budget exhibit?
Are you more interested in private preventive work than in the preventive work that your city ought to do through its budget?
Would you go to a taxpayers' budget hearing?
Do your women's clubs ever discuss city expenses?
Are these discussions in time to influence money voted in the budget?

The Making of Public Budgets

Unused as many citizens are to think about patriotism, honesty and efficiency in terms of public budgets, *budgets* is one word that every citizen must learn to feel for.

The only time in the year when any governmental body tries to picture to itself 100% of its task, 100% of the community's need, 100% of the government's opportunity, is when it is making up its mind how much it will spend the next twelve months, that is, what its annual budget will be.

Three years ago Frederick Trevor Hill, the Lin-

coln historian, wrote me that it was useless to try to interest the press and the public in budget making because it was a subject for experts.

Yet that same fall 75,000 persons visited the first budget exhibit given by the Bureau of Municipal Research and the Allied Real Estate Interests in co-operation with a number of other civic organizations and city departments. The next year 200 ministers recognized Budget Sunday in New York City early in June, while two budget committees,— one of social workers and one of ministers — lengthened New York City's budget season from a few days to six months. Two years later 800,000 visits were paid to New York City's budget exhibit given by the board of estimate and apportionment during the month of October. From three to five addresses were made at this exhibit each day while, almost daily, taxpayers' hearings were held at the board of estimate and apportionment.

For the story of budget-making in New York City and for practically the only hand books on budget-making ever published, write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, 261 Broadway.

Can Woman Help Make Budgets?

Ballots do not make budgets.

A company of men and women social workers met last fall to consider a health department budget. A subcommittee reported that three methods of procedure were open to social workers: (1) they might endorse without question the budget estimates sub-

mitted by the commissioner of health; (2) they might be influenced against some of these requests by the Bureau of Municipal Research; (3) they might get their own facts and make up their own minds. Obviously time was too short for them to get their own facts and to make up their own minds. Therefore, the best thing seemed to be to endorse the estimates of the health commissioner.

When I reported the above alternatives to Homer Folks, he replied: "They have omitted one possibility; they can keep out."

Within a month it was demonstrated that the department of health's inspection of food supplies was ineffective and that rotten eggs were freely sold for the making of angel food and lady fingers. Later it was announced that tuberculous meat was being sold in Brooklyn's slaughter-houses under the eye if not by the permission of the department of health. Other conditions have convinced the department itself that its chief need is for greater efficiency in the use of its present funds rather than for the requested increase of 50% in funds.

At a taxpayers' budget hearing a woman unqualifiedly endorsed a certain department's estimate not for herself, but as the spokeswoman for 100,000 women. One question brought out the fact that she did not have the abc of information about that department's needs and was merely reciting a speech given her by the commissioner.

A candidate for president of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs announced in Novem-

ber, 1910, as a part of her platform that women should be invited by the board of estimate and apportionment to participate in budget making. I reminded her by letter that not only have women been invited for years to participate but have actually participated every year since 1904. Their relative ineffectiveness has been due to lack of information, not to lack of opportunity. It is fair to say also that their ineffectiveness has been equaled if not exceeded by the ineffectiveness of men voters equally lacking in information.

Budget awakening in American cities is one of the surest evidences that people are getting on the right track. Mayor Gaynor's last official action before starting for the trip to Europe which an assassin's bullet interrupted, was to give an interview regarding the budget exhibit in which he asked the City Hall reporters to help make "the budget kindergarten" a success.

Taxpayers' Hearings

Ballots do not attend hearings.

Do you know men and women who are "crazy" for the referendum? Did you ever see one of them at a taxpayers' hearing?

It is a curious thing that not one of the leading New York advocates of the referendum or the initiative has ever availed himself of the greatest referendum and the greatest initiative offered, namely, the official taxpayers' budget hearing before the board of estimate and apportionment.

At the 1910 budget hearing on the requests of the tenement and health departments, only three women were present. Yet for the preceding two years notice had been given months in advance that women's questions and information would be welcome on certain specified days. In fact, a good part of the time at the 1910 hearing on the board of education budget was taken by women speakers.

Taxpayers' hearings have been a far more important element in recent progress than most people seem to understand. In their possibilities they are vastly more important than are mass meetings of protest. Yet few communities have acquired the habit of holding such hearings although few mayors and few councilmen or governors will refuse to hear what citizens wish to say regarding any important public matter. To ask for a hearing is to get it.

In New York City taxpayers' hearings have taken on new significance of late since members of the board of estimate and apportionment have themselves been better informed and have given taxpayers unlimited opportunity to present or to discuss facts. The beginning of this was with Mayor McClellan who granted additional hearings on the budgets for 1909 and 1910 and announced months in advance that taxpayers might have all the time they wanted so long as they stuck to facts and did not try to indulge in "disquisitions on the state of the Union."

A representative of one taxpayers' organization telephoned me in consternation and asked if it was true that nobody would be allowed to talk on the

budget who did not address himself to some definite item or items. When I said I certainly hoped so, he then asked, "But what in the world can we do?" What they did do was to request certain members either to absent themselves from the taxpayers' hearings or at least to refrain from talking, because sad experience had proved that they were certain to talk volubly and violently about the Ten Commandments and the Declaration of Independence. They also appointed representatives who set about ascertaining certain definite facts which they presented with dignity.

Mayor McClellan at his last budget hearing (in the midst of the Gaynor-Bannard-Hearst mayoralty campaign) made no little capital by putting one eminent taxpayer after another on record with regard to alleged waste during his administration (due, principally, to obsolete and chaotic business methods). As different citizens came forward to urge more money for the fight against tuberculosis, etc., he asked each "Do you believe that millions of dollars could be saved by the next administration?" So anxious were speakers not to offend the mayor and to secure acquiescence in their definite requests, and so unprepared to give definite facts in support of their convictions, that only one citizen answered what unquestionably all felt: *Millions could and should be saved by the next administration.* When asked to show when and how, the noted banker-philanthropist, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, replied by quoting sworn testimony of Mayor McClellan and

Comptroller Metz, which you will find in *Efficient Citizenship No.* 346, published by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. Millions saved in 1910 and 1911 have supported Mr. Schiff!

If taxpayers' hearings in your city are either unheard of or are a farce, the chances are ten to one that it is because the taxpayers themselves do not come forward with definite statements of fact.

One taxpayer armed with evidence will cause a whole city administration to get busy obtaining facts and changing such facts as are unfavorable. It is a reflection on the citizens' irresponsible attitude toward public affairs when taxpayers' hearings are regaled by such dialogue between two city officials as follows: "But I want to do something for Brooklyn." "Then why in hell don't you resign!"

If your city is not accustomed to public hearings, I suggest that you begin by asking the mayor or council to grant three hearings on the next annual "budget" or "appropriation bill": the first for officials themselves to explain the needs for which they are asking money; the second for taxpayers to favor or oppose estimates given by the officials; and the third for taxpayers to favor or oppose the tentative budget which officials have decided to vote unless taxpayers change their minds.

At the first public hearing on official estimates the various officers who are asking for money ought to explain to the body which votes the money why each amount is requested, what additional work it is proposed to do for increases requested, why addi-

tional workers are needed, or why salary increases for the existing workers are proposed. The mayor or chairman of the finance committee of councils may not at first be interested in such hearings and may not have the *desire to know* or any of the other elements of the statistical method.

Whether they vote or not women can individually or through committees see that questions are asked of the health officer or school superintendent which will explain clearly how much better work could be done for health and schools if the requested increases were voted. In 1910 the president of New York City's board of education stated that he was very glad to have intelligent and searching questions asked because it gave him a better opportunity to bring out school needs.

In small communities and wherever possible, taxpayers and officers should be heard on the same day; that is, the taxpayer should be given a chance to ask questions when the department head is present to answer them, and the department head in turn should be given a chance to remove any misunderstandings by replying to protests or questions of taxpayers. But in large cities it will be for some time rather difficult to persuade a fiscal body to hear officers and taxpayers on the same day. So at the second hearing, after officers have explained their requests, taxpayers should be given a chance to favor or oppose particular requests before the voting body has made up its mind.

The third hearing, and perhaps the most im-

portant, is after the voting body has made up its mind but while there is still time to change its decision if satisfactory reasons are given by the public. This is the hearing on the tentative budget, called tentative because it is supposedly all open for discussion.

At the first public hearing the burden of proof is on the department head. At the second the burden of proof is on the taxpayer. At the third the burden of proof is on the voting body.

Obviously each of these hearings will be a farce —

1. Unless the estimates are so clearly stated that the taxpayer who tries can understand the purpose for which money is requested, and for just which purpose more or less is requested than for the preceding year
2. Unless similarly the tentative budget shows the purpose for which money is actually about to be voted unless the voting body changes its mind
3. Unless the estimates are printed long enough before the public hearings for taxpayers to inform themselves
4. Unless ample time is given at hearings to bring out the facts
5. Unless the voting body listens to and understands department heads and taxpayers and weighs their arguments when preparing the tentative budget
6. Unless the tentative budget is printed long enough before the hearing on it (say, five days or three at least) to permit taxpayers to understand it; wherever it is more or less than last year's budget plus special appropriation in-

creases or decreases should be shown by item in parallel columns

7. Unless the after-budget use of the money conforms to before-budget reasons

For information regarding taxpayers' hearings on budgets, address the Bureau of Municipal Research, 261 Broadway, New York City, which has a fund given by ex-Comptroller Herman A. Metz to help communities wishing to improve their budget making, public hearings and reports.

Taxpayers' hearings on other public issues should be conducted with the same demands for evidence as hearings on the budget. There should be advance notice, definite information, time to study pros and cons.

Newspapers will report all taxpayers' hearings if taxpayers present facts. Yet one interested citizen can greatly improve the nature of these reports by informing editors and reporters in advance as to the more important issues at stake and by submitting in typewritten form the essential facts on questions which will bring out these facts.

Are there public hearings of taxpayers in your city?
On what issues?
Do your newspapers report these hearings?
Did you ever attend one?
Are taxpayers courteously treated?
Do officials ask questions necessary to bring out the case, or do they just look bored and let people talk?

Do civic agencies prepare in advance for these hearings?
Do your "best citizens" ever attend?
Do the referendumites ever attend?
Could women attend and speak?
Do they?
Does your state legislature give public hearings on its appropriation bill?
Can you ever hope for the democratic administration of state funds if the public does not demand and utilize taxpayers' hearings on requests and proposed allowances for state departments?

Oppose Subterranean Hearings

The Federation of Women's Clubs in Oregon is trying to interest women in taxpayers' hearings and in a recent circular asks the chairman of each local school committee:

"Do your members as a rule attend the taxpayers' meeting in December?
"How many of your committee attended the annual school meeting last June?
"Do you as chairman remind them of the importance of these meetings and urge upon them the necessity of attending?"

At present women's clubs, like men's clubs and like individual men and women, too often want to get subterranean access to mayor or comptroller or governor or dominant alderman. Hence, instead of working through taxpayers' hearings and through the press, they invite officials to dinner or to tea, call at their offices and bring pressure through per-

sonal friends and political allies. They little think in adopting this method how they are perpetuating it, and how much better equipped than they are the evil forces in their community to make use of this method. The cure for illegitimate deals is open public discussion where everybody knows reasons for and against each project.

Budget-Making by State Legislatures

Ballots do not watch state budgets.

The pathetic efforts of the general public heretofore to participate in budget making is a phrase that Governor Hughes might just as well have applied to any state or to any other government unit as to the budget making of New York's legislature.

What did he mean? Our (your) legislature

1. Cannot ascertain the proper total to be allowed
2. Cannot apportion that total justly
3. Obtains no adequate advance knowledge of departmental budgets and proposals
4. Receives no reports based upon preliminary investigation
5. Is unable to make comparative examination
6. Submits its recommendations ($38,500,000 in 1909) to the governor, who must approve or veto without knowledge necessary to intelligent or just action

In terms of experience these conditions mean:

1. State budget-making is now largely gambling, because all parties must work without light

2. Legislatures as bodies cannot and do not participate
3. The public and the press cannot and do not intelligently participate
4. Sub-committees must act arbitrarily with respect to numerous items involving millions
5. "Log rolling" is encouraged
6. Extravagance is encouraged
7. Control of the purse-strings by the public is impossible
8. Comprehensive planning for state development is impossible
9. Desirable and necessary activities are placed at a disadvantage in competition for funds with undesirable and unnecessary activities backed by greater or more skillful influence
10. A governor wishing to deal justly can be only partially successful, because lacking the information necessary to compare relative needs and to distinguish efficiency from inefficiency, waste from economy, desirable from undesirable

Who Should Publish Municipal Facts?

Ballots do not give up-to-date facts.

If any special publication is needed beyond your newspapers see if you can get your city officers to start a paper like the *Denver Municipal Facts* issued weekly by Denver's city government.

Similar organs are issued by state and city departments of health and education. Write to your state librarian for information as to your own and other states.

If possible, resist the temptation to start a bulletin for your own organization. Do not lose your

chance to talk to all the people in your town through newspapers by starting a rival publication which must be issued regularly whether you have anything to say or not.

Efficient Citizenship Bulletins

Instead of starting a publication of its own, the New York Bureau of Municipal Research has issued since 1907 five hundred postal cards and slips with heads like those on pages 50 and 308. With the title *Citizens' Business* the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research is issuing a series. The Robert L. Stevens Fund for Municipal Research in Hoboken has in the same way defeated the efforts of the local daily to keep news from the public.

Twice this method of publicity has been challenged and the Bureau's trustees have investigated, once shortly after the experiment started and again in July, 1910. Both times the method of telling but one short story at a time on a postal card has been approved because of results shown in correspondence from other cities, newspaper comment, gifts, etc.

Twelve Wall Street bankers and lawyers were asked their opinion of our *Efficient Citizenship* cards. Twelve answered that they doubted if the results would justify the expense because nobody would read them. But twelve answered that they themselves did read these cards!

Are Your Official Reports Educational?

Ballots do not write official reports.

No unofficial citizen can ever be as interesting to a community as a citizen official. When the president of a private university speaks his message goes directly to that limited portion of the public which subscribes to his college yell. When, however, the president of the state university speaks, or the secretary of the state board of health, every person in the state involuntarily feels that he himself is speaking.

Mayor Gaynor asked why the Bureau of Municipal Research did not give the budget exhibit in 1910. My answer: *Because for every person interested in an exhibit given by private individuals* 100 *will be interested in an exhibit given by their own representatives,* was proved by 800,000 visits to the city's exhibit.

Nothing which citizen organizations or individual citizens can do these next few years will pay such large dividends to society as success in securing proper official reports.

Reports well done bring financial support. It is doubtful if there is a city in the country where Red Cross stamps — important as they are — have raised as much money or done as much good as could slight improvements in the reports of local and state health authorities which would tell the truth about the presence of tuberculosis and the need for extending the fight against it.

I am writing at the beginning of the 1910 sale of Red Cross stamps in New York City. A few thousand dollars will be raised to be spent through one private organization. Yet less than six weeks ago the board of estimate asked taxpayers interested in tuberculosis to tell what they knew about it and what the city should do to check it. Not one single word was uttered at the hearings or through the press by any one responsible for the sale of Red Cross stamps.

Where official reports fail to try to make the whole truth interesting to the public, almost without exception they are telling mis-truths and in too many instances are attempting to conceal.

Official reports well done are better than the referendum and the initiative because they suggest ways in which you can help between election times without regard to voting.

It is possible for a woman single handed to get vast improvements in reporting.

Begin with the reports of the health departments, the schools, parks, and juvenile courts. If they show you community needs not met some of you can begin at once to coöperate with the department heads in having the needs met. If they do not state where the school work or health work or probation work needs strengthening there is something wrong with the report and with the work. This same remark, by the way, applies to church reports and women's club reports also.

To recommend adequate and uniform reports the

National Education Association has a special committee the results of whose work you may secure upon application to the United States bureau of education. If you will send a copy of your own school report or health report to your respective state secretaries they will probably be glad to tell you where certain facts are lacking or how these reports might show more effectively where your local work needs strengthening. The only agency that can now be appealed to from all parts of the country for help in analyzing reports is the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City.

There are a few essentials not usually found in reports which are mentioned in different parts of this book and which I summarize here.

Every report should state —

1. 100% of the work which an official ought to undertake
2. 100% of what is actually undertaken
3. With what result the work undertaken is done
4. 100% of the facts, as above, for each kind of work undertaken and done
5. Facts for not less than two years
6. Decrease or increase of problems or of work done for the periods contrasted
7. Changes and relations should be stated by percentages as well as by totals
8. Kinds of work and results should be carefully classified
9. Significant facts should be summarized
10. Facts should be interpreted
11. There should be recommendations based upon these facts for work to be done next year

VIII

NEXT STEPS TOWARDS 100% PHILANTHROPY

Should Voluntary Civic Bodies be Efficient?

In New York City with its 5,000,000 inhabitants the list of civic organizations, churches, etc., indexed in the *Charities Directory* numbers over 8,000. It takes 700 pages to describe briefly their purposes. In the city of Hoboken with 70,000, where you would be told that there is very little uplift work, there are 100 organizations.

Because ballots serve but once in four years or two years or possibly once a year, balloting does not offer opportunity for continuous service or continuous educational work. Therefore, the need for large numbers of private societies to organize the team work of citizen interest.

Inefficient organization of these societies will reflect itself in inefficient attention to government agencies. Women who waste time in self culture clubs will waste time in work for government. Women who think crookedly as charitable trustees will think crookedly as voters.

The various tests of efficiency in government work which are suggested in this book need to be applied quite as rigorously and in much the same manner to voluntary civic organizations.

Several efficient voluntary bodies have been mentioned. Women's clubs would do well to make a survey of the agencies in their communities, in-

cluding themselves, in answer to questions somewhat as follows:

In what field is Society A interested?
What part of that field does it undertake to cover?
What part of it does it cover?
How much of the field is left uncovered?
Does the community fully understand the difference between what is needed and what this society does?
Is that difference due to lack of funds, lack of members or lack of efficiency?

In most communities such a survey would disclose the fact that few agencies hold themselves responsible for covering 100% of the field which they claim as theirs. There is an almost irresistible temptation, whatever the purpose of private civic organization, to try to concentrate attention on itself rather than on the field it aims to cultivate. This temptation is due in large part to the necessity for raising funds. That necessity is greater because the work is broken up into so many parts with so many complications that both rich and poor alike are confused and are unable to see 100% of community needs.

However narrow the field of any civic organization it cannot fail to increase its efficiency if it relates its own programme to that of both other civic organizations and city government.

It is hard to think of less than 100% of a community's children with a programme constantly confronting workers and contributors such as the Chil-

dren's Protective Union of Memphis prints on its subscription blank:

> 1. *Community Interest* in *Child Welfare;*
> 2. *Civic Responsibility* for the safety and well-being of *all* the city's children but especially *Dependents* and *Delinquents;*
> 3. *Adequate Legislation* for Child Welfare, and zealous enforcement of Child Helping Laws;
> 4. *Personal Service* through Children's Aid Committee, to the poor, the afflicted, the wayward — to the end of bringing them within reach of existing remedies.

Are Women Under the Law of Trusteeship?

Sentiment and law have given the words *trustee* and *trusteeship* a well merited halo. No greater compliment can be paid to any woman than that she is trustworthy, can be trusted, discharges a trust, recognizes her trusteeship.

No words express more delicately the distinction between mine and thine. You give me something in trust; I keep it until you demand its return. If I use it or give it away or sell it I betray the trust, an act of dishonesty which is regarded as more serious than to take something from you when you are not looking.

The law of trusteeship which has been worked out after centuries of disagreement and litigation holds a trustee responsible not only for the return of that which was given him in trust, but for its return in good condition *with such increment as its rightful,*

efficient use makes possible. For example, the steward who was given three talents was expected to return not only the original three talents but also three talents by way of interest. He who was given one talent was condemned for having buried it instead of making it produce an additional talent.

Under this law of trusteeship two heirs of Horace Greeley are now suing another heir for several thousand dollars. A trustee who deposited funds for 2% when he could have invested at 5% was made to pay the difference. A trustee who spent money on improving land which could not benefit his ward was made to pay this money back to his ward.

Applying this law to our trusteeship as citizens it means we are to use to its utmost our capacity. It means not merely that we must vote right. It means we must think right before we vote, and so think and so act after we vote that our pre-ballot and post-ballot use of our trusteeship will be as intelligent and as sincere as our placing the ballot.

This obligation is independent of the ballot. Christ did not say to the man with one talent, "You are free from responsibility for earning another talent because you have only one talent while your colleagues have two and three."

How many women who are to-day urging the ballot have accepted in good faith their trusteeship and are doing before ballot time and after ballot time what they are easily able to do to influence public sentiment and official action and to influence the

placing of ballots by those already eligible? Too many of them say, "Without the ballot we have no obligation to society. We shall not help the schools or the board of health at budget time. We shall sit by and watch things get worse and worse in order to further suffrage."

One society in New York City goes so far as to pledge its members to make no gifts to uplift work until suffrage is won.

Similarly many leading socialists neglect their trusteeship for the practical socialism which is already embodied in our government, such as public schools, parks, docks, and street cleaning — on the ground that things cannot get better until they get worse.

Any citizen taxpayer, whether suffragist or socialist, plain ordinary voter or disfranchised woman, has the right to examine public records in New York City. If he or she finds wasteful expenditures, steps may be taken without any regard to the ballot to have the offending officer removed. Furthermore, funds may be recovered that have been wasted.

The law of trusteeship is treated in an opinion submitted to the Bureau of Municipal Research by Mr. William J. Curtis, a New York lawyer. You would do well to possess yourself of this opinion and to have the law of your state clearly recognize the common law principle that mayors and comptrollers and aldermen are trustees in honor bound and in law bound to be efficient to prevent waste and to act for the public welfare. One suit vindicating this prin-

ciple would do more for your state than five years of woman's voting.

Talk Programmes for Women's Club Meetings

"Show us our selfishness in seeking culture for ourselves when we ought to be seeking opportunity to help others."

The trouble with the search for culture is not that it is selfish, but that too often it fails to get the culture. The law of trusteeship makes it just as incumbent upon us to be sure that search for culture results in culture as that our trade investments pay dividends commensurate with outlay.

Cultural clubs cannot afford to leave life out, least of all the life of their own surroundings. Instead of being extraneous to culture, social problems are fundamental to literature, art and music. Only a superficial contact with culture is possible to those who have no interest in their fellow men.

Women's clubs are a tempting source of power. That is why so many people tap the reservoir. It pays. So we find their programmes crowded with speakers and topics. If the printed programme does not contain more than one subject there is almost certain to be some resolution or appeal and surely a number of announcements. Thus even the entertainment product is confused and blurred by the time the meeting is over.

For a woman's club meeting four different speakers had already consented to talk for five to seven minutes each when I was asked to be the fifth.

declined not on the ground that I could not afford to travel two hours for a seven-minute talk, but because it was unfair to the other speakers to take of their meager time. The combined salaries of these four speakers totaled $40,000 a year. Yet this rich woman's club generously consented to listen from twenty to twenty-eight minutes to descriptions of four different nation-wide activities.

After announcing for a university talk the topic, "A Lesson in Civics from Pippa Passes," the chairman wrote that everybody was curious to know how I was connecting civics and Pippa Passes. Yet she printed the title, "A Lesson in Civics," and frightened away most of the belectured clientele.

It is possible to plan a year's programme so as to get a cumulative effect and to interest women in asking questions and in bringing out each speaker's case. No case needs bringing out more than that of culture subjects.

Whatever the purpose of a woman's club and however small a community, a balanced programme should provide each year for some distinct reference to needs-not-yet-met of health work, public schools, town cleanliness, town beauty and government efficiency.

In planning either the talk programme or work programme for your club a good source of suggestion is the president of your state federation. Better still is the list of things not done that ought to be done for your neighborhood.

Have you tried writing to each member of your

club asking for suggestions, and sending back the compilation of suggestions for a preferential vote? This will give women training in initiative and referendum and will probably show how few wish direct representation and how many feel with Mr. Carnegie that efficiency requires the "divine art of delegation."

For a scientific and interesting outline of topics on "what my town is doing for its citizens" secure the programme of the Philadelphia City Club for 1910–11.

The Voter's League of Cleveland published in one of its 1911 bulletins a suggestive list of topics on community work.

Work Programmes for Women's Clubs

The list of things done by women's clubs includes practically everything which any community has undertaken for the past ten years.

Feminæ nihil alienum est!

For 1910 the Concord, N. H., Woman's Club gave to its civics committee seven meetings: one on "Ideals of Good Citizenship"; three on "The City's Health"; and three on "The City Beautiful."

The Civic League of Newport, R. I., reports for 1910 "Work Accomplished and Measures Furthered," as follows:

Four *School Gardens* established and maintained. (A number more needed.)

Two *Playgrounds* instituted and maintained until turned over to the Playground Association formed in 1908.

League for Good Citizenship organized in the public schools to awaken civic pride and sense of responsibility in the children.

Mothers' Meetings held in the schoolhouses to arouse parents' interest and give assistance in their home training.

Movement for a *Building Law* initiated and, with the coöperation of eight other societies, brought to successful issue. Efforts made since its passage (in 1908) to have a *Building Inspector* appointed, which has now been effected.

In coöperation with the Tuberculosis Society, cards and leaflets distributed to dealers and customers in regard to the *Milk Supply*.

Request to the Representative Council for new *Street Signs*, resulting in their installation to the number of 2,000.

Preservation of the fine old *Elm Trees* in Dearborn Street.

Rubbish Barrels placed in different parts of the city. At the request of the League, additional barrels and signs placed in the public parks by the Park Commission.

Unceasing agitation for the removal of obnoxious *Billboards*, and the suppression of *Slot Machines*, *Improper Shows*, *Plays*, *Postal Cards* and other harmful agencies.

Constant coöperation with the city officials as to condition of *Streets and Sidewalks*, proper collection of *Ashes and Garbage* and observance of *City Ordinances*.

Recommendation to the city Council (in 1906) that a *woman* representative be retained on the *School Board*.

Lectures free to the public delivered by Professor Cummings of Harvard, Professor Zueblin, Mrs.

L. A. Mead, Mrs. Owen Wister and other well-known authorities, on subjects of general interest.

Monthly Bulletin issued, of which *The Survey* says, "This little paper, which is admirably written, keeps all to whom it goes in touch with local civic matters, emergencies, opportunities and duties. And it is very readable."

The report of the biennial session of the Federation of Women's Clubs for 1910 tells what hundreds of clubs have done, or *done at.* Why not print in your Talk Programme for 1911–12, a summary showing for five years:

What your club set out to do?
What it got done?
What it only talked about?
What it can get done next year?
What it can start next year?

The City Beautiful

Which shall come first: beautiful homes or beautiful cities, beautiful public buildings or beautiful residences? Shall we urge municipal art because it is beautiful; because it is expensive; because it is a substantial asset for a community; or for all three reasons?

The next decade will see a veritable revolution in municipal art because architects, business men and women's clubs are combining to keep the fires of art burning in all parts of the land.

Every community should have its group — or its

informed individual — interested in urging standards of beauty and protesting against everything that is ugly.

Street trees are beautiful. So are clean streets. Better have no parks than "unbeautiful" parks.

Sometimes those who possess beautiful paintings or statuary or tapestries loan their collections to public libraries or volunteer committees. Several cities have loan collections of pictures for school children to take home and circulate like books.

In New York City there is a municipal art commission which has power to prevent the erection of any structure from public funds which shall not be beautiful to look upon. As a rule architects and builders are persuaded that the substitute proposed by this municipal commission, because more artistic, will reflect greater credit on themselves.

Start your municipal art movement with the public school. If it is already started somewhere else, expand it to include the public school. Next in importance are other public meeting places. To teach art in a hideous school building is just as effective as to teach fresh air gospel in unventilated school rooms. The practice of art is essential to the teaching of art. Women's clubs can do much to practice and teach art by making beautiful the buildings and streets for which the city government is responsible.

Presents to school children who grow the prettiest plants or bring in the prettiest flowers or keep the best back yards and front yards will do much to

cultivate a sense of the beautiful. So will clean windows, clean floors, clean air.

With art, seeing is believing. Few people can cultivate distaste or indifference to the beautiful. One of the most unpromising boys once came into my school room during recess time ostensibly on an errand. When I asked why he was violating the rule that kept children out in the air during recess, he replied that he came in just to see the flowers,— one bouquet on each desk. A tenement mother given a fresh air outing at Sea Breeze, Coney Island, looked out upon the ocean through the trees which are called the "scenery" by those more familiar with east side theaters than with groves, then began to stumble and look as if she were about to faint. When the superintendent supported her and asked if she were sick, she said: "No, only I didn't know it could be so beautiful!"

The best information regarding efforts to beautify cities may be had by addressing The Secretary, Municipal Art Commission, City Hall, New York City; The American Civic Association, Washington, D. C.; The National City Planning Association, New York City; and *The Survey*, New York City.

Before writing for information ask yourself if you really do want a city beautiful.

Do you love beauty or the *idea* of loving beauty?
Do you have beautiful things in your working room and sleeping room or do you reserve them for company?

Do you find it intolerable to have your own front yard "unbeautiful?"

Is the street in front of your residence clean and beautiful?

What are you doing to preserve street trees?

How does your city home look in the summer time "when everybody's away" and you are at the seashore or in the mountains?

Would you favor a law compelling rich people to make and keep their yards and houses beautiful to look upon until their return?

Vagrancy in Begging and in Art

No programme for a city beautiful is complete that does not provide for keeping beggars off the street.

The shortest cure for vagrancy is to abolish vagrant giving just as the shortest cure for a city ugly is to produce a race of men and women who love and think beautiful things. If we can ever get rid of the man or woman who wants $10 worth of satisfaction for five cents, it will be easy to get rid of the man or woman who wants five cents or $5 for a hard luck story.

If an aged woman is in need of hospital treatment, it is cruel to force her to beg from man to man to get that treatment. Any able bodied man or woman ought to be ashamed to contribute five cents toward that treatment when he or she could be the means of sending the needy person to a hospital or charitable agency that can give her what she needs.

When your policeman winks at street begging

please do not give him credit for a kind heart. The probability is he is being bribed to help that beggar violate the law. If there is no law in your community against street begging, take steps at once to secure such a law, *out of kindness to the beggar as well as regard for public decency.* Nobody is really kind to the beggar who does not make it unnecessary, and hence wrong for him to beg.

Merchants will pay to keep beggars from standing in front of their business; householders will pay to keep beggars from coming to their front or back door; church goers will pay to keep from being forced to give alms to people who advertise their unworthiness by mendicant attitude or marks of dissipation. Yet people will continue to give where they know they ought not to give unless there is some place or some person constantly at hand or within telephone reach to assure housekeepers and merchants that in sending beggars away from their premises they are sending them toward adequate relief.

In New York City there is a National Association for the Prevention of Imposture and Mendicancy. It publishes reports and tells of innumerable ways of doing away with vagrancy by giving vagrants better things to do. If not convinced that begging can be stopped where police departments really want to stop it, write to that society. For general information on constructive relief work write to *The Survey.*

Does the Public Library Belong to You?

At New York City's budget exhibit in 1910 a pin map and photographs showed where 814 traveling libraries of fifty volumes each were located in department stores, theaters, workshops, office buildings. In pins of another color were shown home libraries sent to distant homes or to invalids unable to go to libraries. Similar traveling libraries are now sent out by several states, sometimes by the department of education and sometimes by state public libraries.

In many libraries public exhibits of art, school work and budgets are given. Others prepare briefs for school children, women's clubs, etc. No other agency can be of such prompt and varied assistance to women's clubs and to others interested in government.

In return for the library's help you can help it get the funds it needs to be of service to you and to others during the next year.

There is a temptation to organize special libraries in civic and women's clubs, but in the long run the greatest good will be rendered by making your public library the clearing house for facts, reading matter and suggestion.

Ask your local librarian for the report of the last state meeting of librarians. See that the next public library building in your city contains plenty of room for exhibits and for popular assemblies, and also a children's room or a period when special attention will be given to children.

When Dr. Cook returns from the North Pole does your librarian put out all the books about polar expeditions and the world's great story tellers?
Do your newspapers print interesting stories about your library and its helpfulness?
Is it easy for the library to obtain funds?
Does the library help your schools?
Is your librarian a *public character* whose coöperation is enlisted for all good causes?
Do your librarians wait on you or help you?
Does the library provide the local papers with a classified list of leading magazine articles?
Has your library the publications mentioned in this book?

John Ernest: Village Librarian

In a western village of 1,000 inhabitants plus a rich farming clientele lived a young man known to old and young as John Ernest. From half past one to four o'clock in the afternoon he was always in a wheel chair in front of the village postoffice. A careful observer would notice quite a rivalry to see who should bring John Ernest's mail and thus have the best chance to talk with him.

I was one of his beneficiaries. To him I owe the only memory I have of Frank and Jesse James. No gratitude which I have ever felt surpasses my appreciation of the forbidden literature which, at an early stage in John Ernest's career, he kept at a candy store on a shelf low enough for small boys to use. Yellow backs outlawed by my mother and by other good mothers of our community, and story books that told of war and burglary and detectives!

It was a real joy going after the mail on the way home from school in those days when stealing a few minutes in John Ernest's store gave us pictures of heroism which respectable literature rarely affords.

This indulgence was brief because in the fight for survival the fittest literature soon replaced the less fit on John Ernest's shelves. Moreover a malady which would now be known as spinal tuberculosis made it impossible for him to conduct the store and John Ernest became a semi-recluse. He organized a Chautauqua circle where a new kind of literature came into vogue. Callers at his house would find some new books and ask the price. At first he would loan a book or try to give it away. Later he sold at cost and finally at a profit. The business thrived until he conducted quite a book business for he was the one in our town who knew most of both new books and the classics.

Confined to the house except for short excursions in a wheel chair pushed by others, John Ernest discovered every man, woman and child within ten miles who ever read a book. How he discovered none of us ever knew. But it was apparently just as easy for the person who abhorred history to get on a common ground with John Ernest as to science and fiction, as it was for the historian to compare notes on Boswell's *Johnson* or Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution.*

John Ernest — village educator — should be a village institution, an indispensable adjunct and inspirational influence in every public library.

Conservation of Religious Energy

Conservation of religious energy is quite as important as conservation of forests and health. Religious leaders who stand still or go backward as citizens can do untold harm to religious work.

Since women are the chief followers in church work they may determine what they shall follow.

Votes for women will seriously modify church work. They cannot follow blindly in church work and keep their eyes open in politics, nor can they keep their eyes open in church work and follow blindly in politics. Since they are bound to have their eyes opened by the results of their vote, it behooves leaders in church work to furnish women efficient ways of doing worth while service.

The two men in small towns best fitted by training and by position for leadership are usually the minister and the school principal. In larger communities the minister and school man often yield their leadership in community matters to the physician, lawyer and business man. But in small communities the time will never come when progress will not depend largely on the minister and the schoolmaster,— the two men who are held up as standards and the two who must be forever conscious of their responsibility for leadership.

These two men must be given a social programme and harnessed to the work for efficient government.

Any minister who is a leading citizen will have a message that people will wish to hear.

Is your church in touch with your town?
Does the preacher use 20th century illustrations?
Is he a leader in town affairs?
Does he know about town needs or does he ask outsiders to tell you?
Is he away all summer?
Does he see that *participation in government* does not require *going into politics?*
Is he glad to accept favors or other contributions from men known to be profiting from misgovernment?

How Much Community Work Should Churches Do?

The New York philanthropist who founded the Bureau of Municipal Research, Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, has now under way a study of practical community work done by churches. He is especially interested to learn of ministers who are leaders in efficient citizenship in its many phases of obligation and opportunity.

He is asking for example:
Should the church maintain a free kindergarten for a few children or get free kindergartens in the public schools for all children?
Should a church maintain a few shower baths for a few children or see that through adequate building laws and proper public baths a shower bath is put within reach of all children and all adults?
Should a church attack community morals by starting a boys' club or by getting the schools used for social centers and by preventing government itself,— the courts, police departments, etc.,— from promoting anti-moral conditions?

Humanizing the Churches

In no profession probably is there to-day the wholesome discontent that is to be found among ministers. They admit candidly that the efficiency of church and Sunday school work is not what it ought to be.

Yet church work has been peculiarly woman's province for generations. What can women do to cure and to lead church unrest?

Stop trying to stop it
Stop scolding it
Determine to guide it
Understand church unrest by first understanding the social needs in your community
To understand social needs understand government
See that your government keeps a legible record of its work and its programme
Urge your philanthropists to think first of community needs rather than of church institutions

"Ministers can stop letting others earn their salaries," is what one prominent clergyman says. Instead of asking outsiders to come in and tell their churches about social and municipal conditions they can learn for themselves and tell their congregations, and then have their congregations tell outsiders and officials. Instead of trying to unite on services ministers and churches can unite on community work. There is no step that has been suggested in this book for women wishing to influence government and to discharge their obligations of citizenship which can-

not, with equal force, be urged upon ministers and church leaders.

Because practically no community is so small as not to have its church organization and repeated church appeal, the humanizing of the church is an important essential in christianizing government.

Church clubs can be given real things to do. When churches stimulate their members to purify milk supplies, check infant mortality, and organize citizen movements for public decency and enlightenment, it will not be necessary for churches in all parts of the United States to send begging letters to New York City to pay for carpets or organs.

It is a rule in many cities that a saloon may not be run within 100 feet of a church. Why should not churches make it a rule that gambling houses, Raines law hotels, houses of prostitution, unclean milk shops and unclean streets or sidewalks shall not be tolerated within half a mile of a church?

Get your church clubs for men and women to impose upon themselves three conditions for their meetings:

1. Treat one general subject at one meeting
2. Leave time for questions and answers
3. Do something with the information and inspiration they may receive

Summer Lethargy in Good Work

How long a vacation does your minister take?
When does he leave?
What happens while he is gone?

When does he come back?
When does he get really to work again?
How many days of effective service does he give your community each year?
Do you see any reason why a minister should leave his city simply because his leading parishioners can afford to take long vacations?
Would it be well for your church and for your city if the ministers were to spend at least a part of their long vacations studying the community needs to which they must minister the coming year?
If the minister himself can get inspiration only from climbing the Alps or visiting European art galleries, is there any reason why his assistant should not keep the church work going at full blast and thus make sure that community evils are not breeding in the very shadow of your church?

When "everybody's away" and "nobody's in town" is the very season when the breakdown of government is at its height; when offenses against public decency are most flagrant; and when community needs are out on the street where they can be easily seen and studied.

Summer — and everyone's out of town,
Fled far from the withering heat
That the sun all day sends sullenly down
On sweltering alley and street;
The shutters are up in the Avenue
And the houses, so grim and brown,
Are empty — except for a servant or two —
For everyone's out of town.

Each hour or two, on the parched East side,
In a beautiful coach of glass,
Some baby is taking its first grand ride
Toward the trees and the velvet grass;
Far out, where the skies are a softer blue,
And the sun looks more kindly down,
The wan little fellows are traveling, too,
Like everyone — out of town.
— From the *Cosmopolitan* — Montague.

Oh ye that pleasure with laughter light
Care ye not, will ye not see
That the waste is yours of the harvest white
And yours must the reckoning be?
Had ye guarded your trust in the public hall
The blight had not fallen down
On the wan little fellows each and all,
Who are traveling out of town.
— Application by Agnes de Lima.

In most cities summer is the time of year when plans for the succeeding calendar year are being made by city officials. The need for good government is no more urgent in American cities than the need for a new standard of summer work on the part of churches and other uplift agencies.

Can you not plan as a part of your contribution to government to have a representative at work for you in the city next summer and to make sure that vivid descriptions of summer conditions will be available when your churches and charitable agencies reconvene in the fall?

If by any accident the leaders of good work could be compelled to stay in their cities during the four

sultriest, hottest, most dangerous weeks of the summer months, inefficient government would receive a greater blow than from many years of uplift work in the winter time when evils are more difficult to discover and uplift work less inconvenient.

Loan Friends vs. Loan Sharks

A woman of sixty once asked me to rescue her and her sons from loan sharks.

She was the daughter of a former governor. Her two sons had borrowed $100 to give her hospital care. They had since paid $450 and still owed $200.

The sons were in constant terror lest their corporation employers be notified. To get money to pay the next instalment they went deeper in debt with the same or other loan sharks.

Thousands of similar cases have never come to light.

The hardship caused in large cities by loan sharks would outweigh in dollars the total annual gifts for relieving distress.

Is anybody in your town ready to loan on salary security or personal character without deposit of jewels or other property?

Can the poor borrow on their furniture without being robbed?

For the story of model pawnshops and for model laws against loan sharks write to the Provident Loan Association of New York City, which has several branches and loans about $10,000,000 yearly. To

learn how to start such loans on a self-supporting basis write to the Russel Sage Foundation, New York City.

Are You Proud of Your Public Charities?

Although the greatest philanthropist is government, the attention of those most interested in philanthropy has heretofore been largely diverted from philanthropy through government, to private charity work.

It has been assumed that public almshouses and hospitals must, of course, be in the hands of politicians and must of course be badly managed. Unsound distinctions have been permitted to grow up between public and private charities. For generations philanthropists have given liberally to private organizations what they have refused to give through public taxes. In our great cities thousands of people are willing to accept gifts of bread or rent or hospital care from private agencies who would feel disgraced by going to a public hospital or almshouse. This false distinction has been encouraged by private philanthropy.

Two of the most interesting experiences I ever had in relief work were with a young woman and a young man, both needing hospital treatment, but both preferring to die rather than go to New York City's free hospital on Blackwell's Island. I made little headway by telling them that Homer Folks had made this institution a hospital rather than an almshouse. I did succeed in interesting both in the social harm

that comes from the false distinction between help from private funds and help from public funds. Each finally decided to go into the hospital to be of service, to be cheerful and happy, and to help change the atmosphere for both worker and inmate.

To get rid of false distinctions between adequate public relief and adequate private relief is one of woman's civic opportunities.

Anyone reading, as I have read in the past few months, 4,000 appeals from all sections of the country would realize that public relief and hospital treatment will never be on a proper basis until we give up our present fear of what is called "outdoor relief," that is, payment from public funds to needy persons in their homes. In only a few of the largest cities is private philanthropy equipped to take care of all the needy. Yet the theory which leaves outdoor relief to private charity and indoor relief to public charity has, thanks to the efficiency of charity organization experts in large cities, been forced upon small communities and rural districts where private philanthropy will never be able and never should be able to do the neighborly service that an efficient government should do.

Nobody believes the United States postoffice would ever have developed as it has if private companies could start rival carriers wherever they pleased with the privilege of stopping wherever they pleased. Radical as the suggestion is to prohibit private relief and hospital work, it is worth your while to consider whether relief work and hospital work and the

general government of your community would not be vastly better if your so-called "best people" were giving to government philanthropy the time and thought now given to private charity.

If you have in your township, county or state any public institution whose conduct shocks you, or if there is any whose atmosphere is repulsive, there is a definite work for you to do.

The highest standard of private coöperation with public charitable institutions has been set by the New York and New Jersey State Charities Aid Associations which have volunteer visiting committees in each county. In Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, etc., similar duties are discharged by volunteer committees having semi-official positions and appointed by the state board of charities.

If you have not yet realized that the management of your almshouses, public hospitals, etc., is a barometer of the problems and decency of your community, write to State Charities Aid Association, New York City, to *The Survey*, same address, and to the secretary of your state board of charities and ask for information regarding women's work in connection with public charities.

If you were sick would you be unwilling to go to a public hospital?

Would you rather die than spend your last five years in a public almshouse or hospital for the aged?

Is the trouble with you or with the hospital?

Do you see any reason why a public hospital should be regarded as a pest house?

Does an "almshouse odor" reflect discredit on the mothers of your community?

Do you see how your public almshouse, hospital, etc., help bring up your child?

Do you know the men and women who are trying to improve government philanthropy in your community?

Do visitors to public charities see the real needs and fundamental defects or merely the sentimental and morbid aspects?

Do you find yourself more interested in almshouse questions than in public school questions?

Does private charity work with or apart from public charity in your community?

Taxing Everybody for Private Charities

Wherever public funds are given to private agencies the leaders in these publicly supported or subsidized private agencies with very few exceptions wink at misgovernment and mis-governors.

Corrupt politicians and efficient party managers have learned that one way to "spike the guns" of a reform movement is to buy off its leaders with gifts to hospitals, orphan asylums, fresh air work, houses of refuge, colleges, industrial institutions, etc.

A college trustee once said to his colleagues that if they would vote him $20,000 and ask no questions he could get $90,000 of state money for their college. He was voted the money. No questions were asked. He got $90,000 and a great deal more.

Another college professor came late to a dinner and, throwing himself in a chair, said he had just finished "the dirtiest day's work of my life." Yet

he had merely helped several other professors and trustees get a lot of legislators sufficiently intoxicated to be in a proper frame of mind to understand the educational needs of his university.

The president of a hospital voted to return a man to the legislature whom he believed to be a dishonest, disreputable scoundrel. With chagrin he told his son that he had to do it because his hospital's requests for state funds had always been supported by that legislator.

There are other dangers inherent in this method of supporting entirely or in part private charitable work:

(1) It encourages the directors and contributors of these agencies to take credit which really belongs to taxpayers;
(2) It gives taxpayers, in spite of their contributions, wrong distinctions between public and private actions;
(3) It encourages leading citizens to concentrate their attention upon small fractions of the health problem, for example, or the child caring problem when they should be dealing with 100% of these problems.

The dividing line between public and private philanthropy is hard to draw. Those who favor public subsidy of private charity say that for the same money taxpayers can get much more extensive and more efficient service because their gifts are supplemented by private gifts. Secondly, it is maintained that the public supplementing of private gifts stimu-

lates private giving, that is to say, it keeps alive an active the humane spirit in a community which is apt to be chilled and conventionalized, if not deadened where giving is entirely delegated to public officials.

Men who are equally informed will differ radically on this subject. Some believe that public subsidy dries up the sources of private philanthropy. Whatever you may think at first you will find it interesting and worth while to learn the facts about your own town, county and state.

Is public money given to privately managed institutions?

Does the public get its money's worth?

Does it try to find out if it is getting its money's worth?

Does it draw any line between inefficiently managed institutions and those which are efficiently managed?

Does it make gifts, or pay for service rendered?

Does it seem to be drying up sources of private charity or stimulating them?

Are the best people of your community kept from protesting against government evils?

Are the best people more interested in private hospitals than public hospitals? In nursing than in preventing cases of transmissible diseases? In infant asylums than in the health department?

What bids fair to be the most important study of this subject ever made in the United States is now in progress upon resolution of New York City's board of estimate and apportionment, which instructed the

city comptroller to find out all about the relation of the city to the hundred odd organizations which get $5,000,000 a year for schools, hospitals, placing out children, rescuing girls, fresh air work, etc. (Address The Comptroller, New York City, 280 Broadway.) I say it promises to be the most helpful study ever made because it will include facts as to Catholic and Protestant institutions never available heretofore because based upon analysis of money spent and work done never made heretofore.

Appealing for Good Causes

Well-to-do persons in all communities receive "charitable" appeals. It is very inefficient for any appealing agency to overlook a well-to-do person.

Women do a great part of the work for which appeals are made. When women have suffrage the number of private uplift agencies will not decrease, although it is to be hoped that their interest in government will increase. Efficiency in stating the truth regarding any "good work" undertaken will be an important element in doing woman's part in government.

Efficiency in appealing has heretofore received too little attention. Orlando F. Lewis of the Prison Association of New York suggests the following tests:

1. Honest; i. e., not intentionally misleading or out of balance; 2. Instructive; 3. Sympathetic; 4. Clear; 5. Brief; 6. Varied; 7. Neat and clean.

Three other tests ought to be squarely met by any appealing agency:

1. That the work which the agency exists to do needs to be done
2. That the particular way of going at that work which the agency represents is up to date
3. That the work would not be done by any existing agency if the appealing agency were not in the field

The vagrant thinker about charity is a greater evil than the vagrant beggar for charity. Good motive in charity work does not mean good product. We have no right to try to interest 100% of the public in a 1% job. Yet that is the aim of most appeals. To ask money of a person for a cause with which that person has absolutely no connection is just as much begging as to ask for money on the street. Evasion and exaggeration are just as serious evils in private philanthropy as in government.

Do you remember "Little Joe's Smile," the advertisement for Sea Breeze Hospital which was published in all the magazines in 1906–07? For an institution which never existed one bogus collector raised more money than was obtained to treat forty crippled children like Little Joe, suffering from bone tuberculosis. One man gave her $3,500 simply because he liked the way she talked about children and uplift work. This old man would have preferred to give his money so that it would help children instead of grafters. He made the mistake of believing that

he could test the cause by the pretensions of the collector.

In most cities the sums raised for charities that do not exist — or for charities that do more harm than good — or for individuals who misuse their gifts — total more than would endow the national campaigns against tuberculosis, child labor and inefficient government.

For the latest plan to tell the public 100% of the story about those who give and those who appeal write to the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

Philanthropy's Wastebasket

One New York philanthropist, Mrs. E. H. Harriman, is having all letters carefully read and analyzed to see what lessons, if any, they contain for givers and appealers.

This study was entrusted to the Bureau of Municipal Research because of its interest in promoting efficient health and school work, hospital service, parks, playgrounds and "opportunity for everyone to be efficient."

Writers of the appeals analyzed received letters stating the purpose of the study, the number of letters read, the total amounts requested, plus suggestions as to work that might be done by their fellow taxpayers to give hospital treatment, schooling, etc.

The story of these letters and their evidence of local breakdowns in government and in philanthropy will be told at some future time. For information as to method write to the Bureau.

The point I want to make here is, that it is worth while studying how people appeal, how they give and where needs are neglected. Efficient giving will seldom be found where efficient thinking is not found. Women can help those who appeal and those who give, to think efficiently.

Could you believe that of 4,000 appeals for $106,000,000 very few asked for enough to do the work outlined, while still fewer indicated that the writers had done the work which they should have done to secure local support?

Efficient Will Making and Efficient Giving

Who is your city's greatest educator?
Its city government.
Who is your city's greatest philanthropist?
Its city government.
Who is your city's greatest social worker?
Its city government.
Who is your city's greatest hospital manager?
Its city government.

Comptroller William A. Prendergast to the Monday Club of Social Workers, Annual Dinner, 1910, New York City.

There will never come a time when the most direct means of promoting health, education and opportunity will not be through government. Yet obvious as this truth should be, it has not yet been grasped by the nation's greatest private givers or by those who advise givers.

People feel they have a perfect right to give away

their own money as they please. Even my secretary asks, "Why shouldn't they?" One reason why they should not is that no person should so give away his money as to defeat the purpose of his giving. Yet a great part of the giving is of this kind, where the donor is buying certain disappointment.

A second reason is that no man has a right in his giving to make life harder for his neighbors and to delay social progress. Yet a pathetically large part of public giving has this unfortunate result.

If givers wish self advertisement, it is fairer to let them advertise themselves in a way which will not advertise their lack of intelligence or inefficiency in giving. No man would really prefer to help thirty children after seeing that his gift, differently directed, could help 3,000 children.

To an extent which at first they would hesitate to admit, women are responsible for the inefficiency of public giving. Because of their personal relations with rich men and their personal interest in "good causes," they are directing gifts which, in many instances, means diverting gifts from right to wrong directions.

Favoritism in giving, personal loyalty to institutions, personal preferences for boards of managers, sentiment because of personal experiences, etc., will continue to influence giving. More benefits and less harm will certainly be done if it is a matter of common knowledge in your community what kinds of work are already surfeited with money and what kinds of work are not yet begun or are inadequately sup-

ported. Every town should so advertise its unmet needs that givers cannot help seeing a list of community needs not met, of opportunities for helping which by their attractiveness and their insistence would influence men and women making up their minds about giving.

No one wants to give $2,000,000 to a children's home after he thoroughly understands that so-called homes are no longer a fit place for bringing up children and that for every homeless child there are in the country two childless homes. No one would prefer to build model tenements if convinced that one-tenth the money would bring all tenements up to the minimum essential to health, comfort and decency. No one wants to start a vocational training school for fifty boys after once seeing that his money spent in a different way would give proper vocational training to 50,000 boys through public schools.

When women become interested in government, and relatively less interested in the fractional problems treated by charities and churches, they will spend the energy on community-wide needs which they now often misspend on their favorite special interests.

It is a result and not an accident that in the original request for a charter for the Rockefeller Foundation not one word appears to suggest that there is anything for you and me to do in coöperation with this Foundation or that there is anything which the Foundation can do to interest itself in 100% of any problems of health or education dealt with by government.

If you make clear what your community needs that it is not getting, it still remains possible for donors and will makers to give their money to favorite institutions while directing their expenditures to purposes which need them instead of other purposes so well known and so fashionable that they do not need the money.

One instance in my own experience shows how anxious donors are to do something that needs to be done. A retired merchant asked me to talk with him about his will. In helping a large number of institutions he planned to give $75,000 each to four institutions. He asked me if I would do that. I said, "No." He asked me why not and I said, "Because your giving that money will not make a particle of difference in the work which those four institutions will do." He took them up one after another as follows:

Is "A" Society a good society? — *Yes.*
Does it do efficient work? — *Yes.*
Would you give it $75,000? — *No.*
Why not? — *Because last year it set aside from its income a surplus of $50,000.*
Is "B" Society doing good work? — *Yes.*
Necessary? — *Yes.*
Ought to be supported? — *Yes.*
Would you give it this money? — *No.*
Why not? — *Because it received last year $68,000 more than it spent, has the richest constituency in this city and does not even have to ask for money.*
Is "C" Society doing good work? — *Yes.*

Deserve to be supported? — *Yes.*
Would you give it this money? — *No.*
Why not? — *Because giving it money is in effect giving money to a multimillionaire who considers it his child and is known to step into every gap.*

He gave his money to establish Caroline Rest Endowment Fund for instruction of mothers approaching and convalescing from childbirth. (See page 205.)

How prospective gifts are now "angled for" is illustrated by another experience. A lawyer telephoned for me and greeted me with this statement: "I want to see a man from your society just to see how he looks. I wrote to twenty different societies stating my desire to give a certain amount of money and asking what was needed in town for children, and the only one that gave me any information except that it needed the money was the letter from your Mrs. Ingram."

What is Municipal Research?

A method not a remedy.

It takes its name from a privately supported body known as the Bureau of Municipal Research which was started in New York in 1906 by Mr. R. Fulton Cutting whose effort to strengthen church work is mentioned on page 151.

By emphasizing method, act and result as the best test of official and of policy, the Bureau of Municipal Research has in six years accomplished noteworthy

results by prosecuting the programme defined in its charter as follows:

> To promote efficient and economical government; to promote the adoption of scientific methods of accounting and of reporting the details of municipal business, with a view to facilitating the work of public officials; to secure constructive publicity in matters pertaining to municipal problems; to collect; to classify; to analyze; to correlate; to interpret; to publish facts as to the administration of municipal government.

The Bureau's method of investigation may be applied to any activity in your city or state:

Ascertain how the powers and duties (and other materials of research) are distributed
Avail itself of the citizen's right to examine public records
Abstract and analyze such information as is contained in the records
Supplement examination of records by collateral inquiry where the records are defective as to work and as to conditions to be remedied
Compare function with accomplishment and expenditure as to each responsible officer, each class of employé, each bureau or division
Confer with the official responsible for the municipal department or social conditions to be studied
Secure promise of coöperation, and instructions that direct subordinates to coöperate with the Bureau's representatives
Verify reports by usual accounting and research

methods and by conferences with department and bureau heads

Supervise work in progress

Hold frequent conferences with supervisors and directors as to method of investigation and as to significance of facts disclosed

Coöperate with municipal officials in devising remedies so far as these can be effected through changes of system

Make no recommendations as to personnel further than to present facts throwing light on the efficiency or inefficiency of employé or officer

Submit in printed form suggestions not easily understood when orally given and not readily conveyed by typewritten statements

Prepare formal report (after conference among trustees and after editing by committee on reports) to department heads, city executive officers and general public

Support press publicity by illustrations, materials for special articles, suggestions to editors, to city officials, and to reporters

Follow up educational work until something definite is done to improve methods and to correct evils disclosed

Supply freely verifiable data to agencies organized for propaganda and for legislative, agitative or "punitive" work

Try to secure from other departments of the same municipality and from other municipalities the recognition and adoption of principles and methods proved by experience to promote efficiency

For a list of results and their cost in detail, write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, 261 Broadway.

In addition to 500 *Efficient Citizenship* bulletins and hundreds of items through the newspapers which have been sent to city and state superintendents of schools, mayors, comptrollers, editors and a mailing list of business men and social workers, the Bureau has published the following formal reports:

Some phases of the work of the department of street cleaning
City owned houses
Salary increases not provided for in budget
Inefficiency of inspection of combustibles
The City of New York, the street railroad companies and a million and a half dollars
How Manhattan is governed
New York City's department of finance
Bureau of child hygiene
A department of municipal audit and examination
Making a municipal budget; functional accounts and records for the department of health
The park question; Part I, critical study and constructive suggestions pertaining to administrative and accounting methods of the department of parks: Manhattan and Richmond
The park question; Part II, critical study and constructive suggestions pertaining to revenue and deposits of the department of parks: Manhattan and Richmond
Memorandum of matters relating to New York City's debt that suggests the necessity either for judicial ruling or for legislation
New York City's debt: facts and law relating to the constitutional limitation of New York's indebtedness
Collecting water revenues: methods employed by

the bureau of water register, Manhattan, with suggestions for reorganization.
What should New York's next mayor do
School progress and school facts
Tenement house administration
What should New York's next comptroller do
Business methods of New York City's police department
How should public budgets be made
School stories: a topical guide to education here and now
Municipal reform through revision of business methods

Even Newspaper Jokes Help

IX

HAS WOMAN APTITUDE FOR HEALTH WORK?

Volunteer Sanitary Associations

In spite of the powerful appeal in all health work there are surprisingly few strong associations having to do with the sanitary side of community life. When conditions get to the public nuisance stage, some organization is apt to come forward to demand their correction. Generally speaking, however, it takes us twenty-five years to accomplish what could be accomplished in five years if the various organizations now touching sanitary work were to picture to themselves and to their communities 100% of their public health problem.

In the past such organizations have worked at but fractions of the health problem a small fraction of the time with too little money and with volunteer part time service. Too often they have tried to get health departments to help them instead of being of service to health departments.

It would take several books to describe women's work in connection with public health. Almost every woman becomes interested at one time or another in some local question concerning health,— street cleaning, diet kitchens, model dairies, milk stations, school lunches and what not.

Health work has too many phases to be taken care of best in any one organization even with a number of subcommittees. There should, however, be in all communities some one central body watching health

needs and attempting to secure sustained attention to different phases of health problems by committees of other organizations, chambers of commerce, public education associations, relief societies, etc. No subject is foreign to health; even art and music permit of treatment from the angle of health and its beauty.

There are several next health steps in American communities requiring organization and sustained educational effort: physical education of school children; education of mothers in the care of children, particularly in the care of infants; reduction of transmissible diseases; ventilation of public assembly halls; keeping school rooms clean; cleaning streets and public buildings; removal of refuse; coöperation among hospitals; abatement of smoke nuisance.

Do not wait for doctors to lead. It is better to have them organize among themselves than to have sanitary work depend upon their "conservative" leadership. Unfortunately, it is still true that many of those who know most about the human body and its needs know least about public health. It is particularly important that all charitable agencies see that the line of easiest approach to public interest in every one of their problems is through the health aspects of that problem.

Do not make the mistake of believing that women are *per se* better health inspectors than men. Some of the least efficient, and least honest health work is done by women employés, just as much health work is made necessary by woman's neglect at home.

Health Dynamos: State Secretaries of Health

What do you know about your state department of health?

Who is its secretary or executive officer?

Have you any reason to be grateful for his existence?

How have you felt his influence on your community?

If your state veterinarian is better known than the secretary of the state board of health, it is because the man who cares for cattle, horses and pigs has made it a little clearer that he is worth while than the man who cares for the health of babies, workmen and all other human users of milk, water and air. It is likely that your state veterinarian has in the past been more direct in his methods, more helpful in his recommendations, more exacting in his demands and more efficient in his educational work.

There are enough exceptions to the rule now among state departments of health so that you can find "live wires" to talk about in case your own state secretary needs a larger programme or a larger appropriation. In Maryland and Wisconsin, for example, traveling exhibits and traveling schools are showing the most remote districts how to keep human animals alive and well. In Pennsylvania an enormous fund of $1,500,000 was voted for a state wide fight against tuberculosis which was infinitely more intelligent than to give some private agency power to do retail educational work.

For admirable health bulletins write to the Michi-

gan Board of Health, Lansing, Mich., and ask for samples of its "healthgrams," — brief news items in attractive form and appeals for public coöperation.

For the same reason that your newspapers are eager for news about New York, every newspaper in your state will be glad to publish news from your state board of health. Big numbers are more interesting than little numbers because they make a more vivid impression. Statements comparing your town with other towns of approximately the same size near it will always stimulate interest and rivalry. Ask your state secretary to rank his cities according to population, number of births, total number of deaths, number of deaths from preventable diseases, number of infant deaths, particularly infant deaths from diarrheal diseases, number of deaths from other preventable diseases, such as tuberculosis, scarlet fever, typhoid, and the number of cases of preventable diseases notified by the various health officers to the state department.

Ask him in his next annual report to tell particularly whether it is still possible in any part of the state for people to die and be buried without formal notice of the fact being registered or for babies to be born without the fact being known at state headquarters.

Have the State Federation of Women's Clubs report at your next general session answers to the following questions:

Is your state secretary of health an educator?
Is he regarded as efficient by sanitary experts?
Has he an adequate staff?
Is he trying to do enough for your state?
Could his reports be more interesting and instructive?
Are his reports copied in the newspapers?
Will he examine samples of sputum from any part of the state, or diphtheria cultures or dairies and milk shops (as is done in New Jersey for example)?
Do his tables rank cities according to different tests of efficient health administration, starting with arrangement according to size rather than alphabet?

Perhaps your state officers would attend your county and state meetings and explain how women can help raise the standard of health administration throughout your state.

State Health Conferences

The sanitary officers of many states have annual meetings which are growing in importance. If your state is not in line, secure a copy of the report for New York's tenth annual (Buffalo) conference, 1910, where physicans, dentists, nurses, mayors and aldermen discussed the following subjects:

1. Public health and the school:
   (*a*) As an aid to public health work
   (*b*) Follow-up work
   (*c*) School hygiene and school disease
   (*d*) From standpoint of educationalist

2. Public health and the dental profession
3. Public health and the medical profession
   (*a*) The difficulties of health officers as seen by the physician
   (*b*) The spirit of mutual helpfulness
4. Public health and the press
   (*a*) From the health officer's standpoint
   (*b*) From the newspaper man's standpoint
5. Public health and municipal authorities
   (*a*) What a health department expects from municipal authorities
   (*b*) From the standpoint of the municipal officer
6. Public health and the conservation movement
7. Public health and the public purse
8. Garbage disposal
9. City sanitation
10. Milk and foods
11. Rural hygiene
12. The laboratory as an aid to diagnosis
13. Reporting communicable diseases
14. Quarantine, isolation and disinfection
15. The control of typhoid fever
16. Unattacked communicable diseases
17. Epidemic anterior poliomyelitis
18. The tuberculosis campaign as conducted by the state department

Stamping Out Transmissible Diseases

Ballots do not stop contagion.

"Catching diseases" are less terrifying than when they used to be considered messengers of an indignant providence. But they still cost this country two billion dollars a year. Nor have they grown less annoying. It is no special consolation to a mother

when her baby is tossing with diphtheria that only one in ten dies from that disease. We cannot be overproud when 1,500,000 hospital beds are unnecessarily in constant use.

Over 630,000 people die every year in this country from causes that are easily preventable. That means 630,000 scandals, 630,000 disgraces, 630,000 outrages against intelligence, 630,000 reasons why women should understand that transmissible diseases cannot be abolished by the ballot.

No mother can be sure that she is protecting her own children from transmissible diseases unless she sees to it that other children are equally protected.

A school teacher guiding the hand of a six year old Hoboken child noticed that it was rough. She immediately sent the child home where the school nurse discovered three children with scarlet fever. The mother had not told anybody because she had just come to this country and was frightened and did not know what to do.

An academic friend of mine was once making a "scientific survey of living conditions" in Chicago. A Polish family permitted him to measure all rooms but one. This they obstinately refused to open. Finally he displayed a policeman's badge and forced his way into a close, dark room where he found a man in bed. The reluctant family admitted that he was only an uncle. He had just been sick for several days. In fact he had the smallpox! In such concealed cases of contagion lies a menace to the public and the explanation of the fact that in 1910

there were 24,000 inexcusable cases of smallpox in the United States.

Individuals cannot stop transmissible diseases. They must work with other individuals through efficient local and state departments of health which see the importance of the following steps:

1. Notification of danger when it is first recognized
2. Registration at a central office of facts as to each dangerous thing or person
3. Examination of the seat of danger to discover its extent, its cost and new seats of danger created by it
4. Isolation of the dangerous thing or person
5. Constant attention to prevent extension to other persons or things
6. Destruction or removal of disease germs or other causes of danger
7. Analysis and record, for future use, of lessons learned by experience
8. Education of the public to understand its relation to danger checked or removed, its responsibility for preventing a recurrence of the same danger, and the importance of promptly recognizing and checking similar danger elsewhere

You can tell which of these steps are not being taken properly by your department of health.

Quite generally now we have come to recognize that when children get scarlet fever or diphtheria or measles they should stay away from school. Quite as generally, however, we are still careless of children who are excluded from school because of transmissi-

ble diseases and permit them to mingle with other children on the street and in homes.

Recently a child came down with whooping cough in Southampton, Long Island. To protect his brothers and sisters this little boy was sent to his grandparents at Amagansett. As a consequence over forty children in Amagansett indulged themselves in whooping cough throughout last summer.

Maine's board of health says our present carelessness with regard to whooping cough is criminal. That disease generally thought to be harmless causes more deaths in most communities than measles or scarlet fever and in 1910 caused 65 times as many deaths as smallpox. "As 95% of the deaths from whooping cough occur before the fifth year, we could save nearly all of the children from dying from it if we could keep them away from direct infection."

The preventable diseases that are most costly in lives and in days of sickness are simple to prevent if individuals will follow certain well-defined rules of health. We know how to prevent and cure tuberculosis. We know how to prevent sex diseases, although some of them are practically incurable. We know how to prevent and cure pneumonia. Yet these three sets of transmissible diseases are responsible for 47% of the deaths from preventable causes.

Every woman's club should have a committee on "health department efficiency," to begin as follows:

Take one skeleton map of the city for each catching disease

Go over the records of cases notified and stick a red

pin at the proper point in the map for every case reported

Go over the death record and stick a black pin in the right place for every death reported

Show these maps to the health officers and persuade them to start making a similar map from cases and deaths currently reported. After noting that pins cluster in certain sections of the city, find out what steps the health department is taking to prevent the recurrence of similar clusters next year

If the cause is inefficiency, make over the incompetents or dismiss them. If the cause is lack of funds, help the department get adequate funds to employ enough efficient inspectors and physicians

No child should be compelled to go to school if that means compelling him to have one "catching disease" after another during his school life. Hence the need for a school physician to detect and exclude transmissible diseases, to say when the child may safely be returned to school, to see that when out of school the child is not spreading contagion and to detect and treat physical conditions that foster transmissible diseases.

Other people die besides babies and children. While not relaxing one iota your interest in child saving work, do not forget your chief reason for being interested in the child is that you shall produce a man or a woman. Dr. Wm. H. Guilfoy, statistician of the New York department of health recently said:

> The rungs at the bottom of the ladder of life are being carefully looked after, those at the middle of the ladder have been neglected; the physical welfare of the man has been lost sight of in the multitudes of attempts at prolongation and treatment of the physical properties of the child.

To find what "catching diseases" are costing your city or state for lives lost alone, get from your department of health the number of deaths by ages. Allow $1500 for infants; $2500 for school children; $7000 for those between 25 and 40. To this total add the cost of burials computed from the average cost in your community.

To these two sums add at least $10 per case for the total number of cases of preventable diseases.

Large as the combined total will be, it will be an underestimate of what transmissible diseases are costing your community, for it will not take account of loss in wages, loss in working efficiency of those who are sick and those who care for them, loss in teacher's services on account of children excluded from school and of time lost from school.

Do not try to learn all about "catching diseases," but learn enough to know whether your physician knows about them. When you want to begin to do something, work through your local and state health departments. Ask them for information and keep asking until you get it. Learn how you can help them to be more efficient. Support them when they are asking for funds. Insist upon their telling week

by week the truth about cases of preventable "catching diseases."

Do your physicians feel that "catching diseases" are their best friends?

Do they try to strengthen or weaken the health board?

Do they obey the rule about notifying cases of transmissible diseases, such as diphtheria, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, typhoid?

Does anybody look to the milk supply for the cause of typhoid, scarlet fever or diphtheria?

Does your drinking water come from almost the same part of the river or lake as that which receives your sewage?

Does your health department welcome questions and support?

Have you been taking it for granted that children must have the "catching diseases," the earlier the better?

Are your school children regularly inspected for signs of transmissible diseases, including transmissible skin and eye diseases?

Do you know that cats and dogs can carry around with them the germs of diphtheria and other transmissible diseases?

Does your family doctor wear a "conspicuous microbe trap" on his face, *i. e.*, "a preposterous, fuzzy bunch of whiskers inhabited by millions of microbes?"

To learn how a national bureau of health would help reduce transmissible diseases and increase the efficiency of health departments wherever the stars and stripes fly, ask your senator or congressman to

get you a copy of Senator Owen's speech of March 24th, 1910.

Insuring Clean Water

Ballots do not discover disease-bearing water.

The strongest reason against polluted water is not that it encourages typhoid fever, but that it is polluted. It ought to be intolerable to any well bred person that drinking water or oysters are taken from rivers or bays or wells into which sewage pours.

The mosquito is proving to be almost as good an enemy of polluted water as typhoid. Fortunately, most people hate mosquitoes enough to be willing to take steps against stagnant pools, unclean cisterns, unclean swamps and yards.

Whether water sources are clean or foul is not a matter of voting or law making, but a matter of fact to be determined by the appearance and analysis of the water. Whether anybody is making the analysis can easily be found upon inquiry.

Nowhere is greater disregard shown for the foulness of water sources than in country districts where man lives close to nature. Country wells are disgustingly near barnyards and privies. Country rivers receive every kind of disgusting filth.

Public and private libraries should have such books as *Typhoid Fever* by George C. Whipple, and *Principles of Sanitary Science and the Public Health* by William T. Sedgwick, and the reports of your state board of health or state commissions of water supplies.

There is now a National Association for Preventing the Pollution of Rivers and Waterways, New York City, which will tell you about work done in all parts of the country about filtration plants, how to compel factories to purify their waste water and sewage, how to prevent one city from defiling common streams, how to patrol water sheds and how to administer clean water supplies.

Insuring Clean Milk

Voting will not insure clean milk.

Long after model laws have been passed, model dairies established and model men put in charge, milk will be unclean unless day by day routine administration of the health department is efficient.

There is almost no limit to the barnyard filth that a baby can safely consume with its milk if it gets the milk within an hour after milking. The reason for this is that the injurious germs that go with filth into milk have not the time to develop before the baby is asked to digest them.

On the other hand no degree of cleanliness in transporting milk uniced, or in caring for it uniced at the milk shop and in the home, will undo the harm done by neglect when milking, if a period of thirty hours or more has intervened between milking the cow and feeding raw milk to the baby.

It takes whole books to tell what one ought to know about clean milk. More of these books will be written within the next twelve months than during twelve preceding years because the whole country

is now alive to the dangers of unclean milk. Those who want exhaustive information should write to the United States Surgeon General and secure a book called *Milk and Its Relation to Public Health.* To find what different cities are doing to keep their milk clean write to *The Survey*, New York City.

The New York Milk Committee has proceedings of two conferences on milk,— one in 1906 and one in December, 1910. At the second conference men of national and international reputation discussed the following topics:

Why Facts Should Accompany Requests for Funds; The Future of the Milk Supply from the Producer's Standpoint; The Transportation and Care of Milk by Railroad Companies; Some Essentials for the Solution of the City Milk Problem not Sufficiently Considered; The Milk Problem in America To-day; The Relation of the Purity of Milk Products to the Public Health; The Bearing of Communicable Diseases on the Control of Public Milk Supplies; Bacterial Contamination of Milk as a Cause of Disease; The Real Need for Pasteurization; Milk Supplies of Villages.

The Present Method of Sanitary Control of New York's Milk Supply With Suggested Plan for Improvement; Usefulness of Milk Standards and Limitations; The Sanitary Side of the Milk Question; The Utility of Laboratory Milk Standards; The Milk Supply of Connecticut; Standards of Milk Utensils; Milk Standards and How to Enforce Them; State Regulation of Milk Prices; The Present System of Milk Control; The Necessity of a Congress for the Improvement of the National Milk Supply.

Minimum Tests for Milk

A few simple points need to be remembered by those who cannot go into the subject scientifically.

1. A nursing baby may get unclean milk if the baby's mouth is not kept clean and if the mother's breast is not kept clean
2. No amount of cleanliness at the dairy, creamery or milk shop can make milk safe if the home utensils, the bottle or nipples are not clean
3. It is impossible to keep milk clean when sold in bulk and opened frequently in a store, dipped out by a dripping hand just taken from the prune box, unclean coat, shaking hands, etc.
4. No milk should be sold for babies except in bottles marked *Baby Milk*
5. It should be unlawful to have milk for sale at a temperature above fifty degrees
6. Creameries where milk is mixed and shops where milk is sold should be clean
7. Every dairy in every state should have its individual score card as should other places that sell milk
8. The scoring of these places where milk is produced and sold should be published so that everyone may know how safe his milk supply is, as is done in Montclair, N. J.
9. Frequent chemical tests should be made of milk to see whether it is unclean or clean
10. Frequent bacteriological tests should be made of milk to see whether it has disease germs; no milk is safe even for pasteurization which has more than 100,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter before or more than 10,000 after pasteurization
11. Unless reports of milk inspectors are carefully

scrutinized by their superior officers and are studied by the public, inspection itself will be careless and unclean milk tolerated

12. Laws regarding clean milk will not be enforced if courts fail to punish those violating the milk law
13. Wholesalers generally pay the fines of retailers arrested for selling unclean or adulterated milk
14. Claims that clean milk cost fifteen or twenty cents a quart should not be believed until better evidence is given than is usually given by those who wish to charge these prices and to oppose milk laws
15. Skimmed milk is not necessarily less clean or less nourishing because it has been skimmed, but skimmed milk should never be sold without a label clearly stating that it is skimmed milk
16. Pasteurization is being "accelerated" by interests wishing to sell both pasteurizers and milk otherwise unfit for consumption
17. Pasteurization does not protect against uncleanliness and infection after pasteurizing
18. For information as to how compulsory pasteurization works and how much it costs, how it can be done on a small scale and how safely done on a large scale, the best present source of information is the Chicago department of health

Interesting the Grocer in Clean Milk

There are few ways in which the individual citizen can be of greater service to her neighbor than in making sure that the community milk supply is clean. Our grocers are our neighbors and cannot refuse to have the facts known regarding precautions taken to protect the lives of their neighbors'

babies. Nor will they refuse to coöperate with those who may wish to interest them in the crusade for clean milk.

Teaching Mothers How to Keep Milk Clean

The most comprehensive tests of instruction of mothers at milk stations and by house to house visiting by nurses and physicians will be made in the summer of 1911 by New York City's department of health coöperating with the New York Milk Committee, the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society and other agencies having milk stations and diet kitchens. Careful statistical record will be kept with regard to keeping milk clean and to saving babies. Never before was so much undertaken.

In addition to $40,000 spent by the city on fifteen new milk stations the New York Milk Committee has tried to raise $150,000 to make sure that every single district in Manhattan shall have the benefit of the latest method of insuring clean milk and informing mothers.

Do you know what a lactometer is for testing presence of water in milk?

Have you ever used one?

Have you ever had samples of milk bought for your own house analyzed by a chemist to see that it had no less than 12% of solids with 3.25% of fats?

Have you ever had bacteriological tests to discover the presence of diseased germs, and to reject all milk with over 100,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter?

Is it anybody's business in your city to keep watch over the purity of the milk supply?

Is your state board of health shifting all responsibility for clean milk to city departments of health?

Can tuberculous cattle be used in your state?

Are tests made of all dairies?

What proportion of your children have the benefit of so-called certified milk, known to be produced under sanitary conditions?

How far is your baby from your milk supply?

Can you see how breast-fed babies may get unclean milk?

Do people in your community take it for granted that pasteurized milk will stay clean even if exposed to unclean air or poured into unclean bottles?

Have your women's clubs ever helped the department of health secure funds in its budget for inspecting milkshops or for instructing mothers in the care of milk?

Do your courts consider the sale of unclean milk a minor offense?

Has anybody ever made a statement showing for the whole year how violations of the milk law are treated by your courts?

Score Card the Test of Clean Milk

If you want to make the kind of test of your local dairies that is being made by Montclair, N. J., Cleveland, Ohio, New York City and others, write to the United States Bureau of Animal Industry for "milk score cards." You can easily interest your health officers in scoring all dairies that supply your city. If you live in a small town or in the country

you can easily score nearby dairies or your own farm or milk shop. This score card is important as a means of giving defects their proper proportion. It shows 66 different elements that ought to be kept in mind at the dairy: 30 relating to stable, two to cow-yard, nine to cows, 10 to milkers and milking, four to utensils, seven to milk house and four to water supply. There is a similar division for milk shops.

Reports of milk inspections should be so specific as to tell how serious defective conditions were and where. It does no good to have the report for the summer of 1909 published sometime in 1911 as will be the case in New York. Every town ought to know specifically just which dairies will particularly need inspection during the hot summer days. The reports of work done by the department should show not merely how many dairies had conditions contrary to law (such as ice boxes badly drained, ice boxes unclean, stores unclean, utensils unclean, milk not properly cooled), but action taken such as destruction of milk, the notices issued to dealers to drain and clean their ice boxes, to clean stores, etc., notices complied with, criminal actions begun against the dealers for selling adulterated milk or for selling without permit, etc., plus the result of such actions.

Having milk inspectors does not mean milk inspection and will not mean protection of milk supply unless the public compares work needed with work done.

State's Responsibility for Clean Milk

States, through their departments of health and divisions of dairy inspection, should see to it that no matter how far from a city a dairy may be, it must be kept clean. It is not fair to the small cities in a state for one or two large cities to assume a fractional part of the responsibility for inspecting dairies, thus encouraging the state to evade its responsibility for inspecting all dairies.

Keeping Babies Alive

Voting will not keep babies alive.

Few duties of government are so inefficiently discharged as woman's duty to give babies good health and to keep them in good health.

One baby out of six or seven in poorer districts will die. In the districts able to pay for pure milk, trained nurses and efficient medical care practically all babies $^{149}/_{150}$ will survive to the second year. No better index will ever be found of a community's intelligence and its conscience than its success in keeping its babies alive. In the civilized world, excluding China, 3,500,000 children will die this year under one year of age; 76 per 1,000 births in New Zealand, 153 in Japan, 161 in Italy, 165 in the United States, 197 in the German Empire, 263 in Russia, 326 in Chili.

A mother's first duty is to learn how to keep her own baby alive and her second duty is to see that

other mothers in her community learn how to keep their babies alive.

How many babies are born in your city or state each year?
How many die before reaching the first birthday?
Did you know that the critical time is the first three months?
Who is paying any attention to this subject in your city?
Are they working with the board of health?
Are they working all the year around?
Have you ever contributed to this work?
When do you hear most about it; in the winter time when they are raising money or in the summer time when babies are dying?
What does it cost to bury a baby?
What does it cost to save a baby?
Is anybody besides the undertaker, *i. e.*, the milk man or the owner of unsanitary tenements, making money out of infant mortality in your city or conditions encouraging it?
Could you, without further instruction, care for a sick baby?
Is milk sold in bulk or in bottles?
Is your milk delivered at a temperature above fifty degrees?
Is there a law in your state compelling milk to be kept below fifty degrees?
Is it practical for the poor of your neighborhood to have ice?
Are mid-wives supervised in your community?
Do you know what chance a baby has to live if placed in an orphan or foundling asylum?
Is anybody trying to persuade mothers to nurse

their babies instead of feeding them from the bottle?

Do you know that breast-fed babies are far less apt to be sick or die?

Is the placing out of infants in homes properly supervised by your state board of health?

Do you see the futility of trying to keep babies alive if mothers themselves are under-nourished and too weak to care?

Are baby farms permitted or prohibited in your state?

If experience has proved anything, it is that there is no way known to man by which unintelligent care will keep babies alive, excepting the one baby in three which apparently will live in spite of the worst neglect that ignorance seems capable of. Unclean milk will poison, unclean milk receptacles will poison, unclean bodies will poison, unclean air will poison. Any remedy for infant mortality which tries to make uncleanliness safe is certain to fail.

You cannot vote air clean. You cannot vote mothers intelligent. You cannot compel mothers to become intelligent. But you can conduct an educational campaign that will make it hard for mothers to be unintelligent and gradually make it easy for everybody to know what saves babies and what destroys them.

You can even put the pacifier out of business by showing mothers that it causes more crime and trouble than it prevents. Learn and pass on to others "*The Aggravating Pacifier*":

Baby cries,
Nurse unwise
Rubber nipple pacifies.

No more riot
Baby quiet
Quite content with rubber diet.

Hearts like lead
News is spread
Baby pacified — and dead!

Fractional interest in a fraction of the babies a fraction of the time is a disease to run away from, but it generally comes with the summer exodus of life savers so at the very time when need is most urgent "everybody is away."

Babies cannot be saved by parlor talks, club meetings and conferences on baby saving.

Again there is a wide belief that it is better for babies of the very poor to die than to live. I have heard it expressed by men and women who give their best thought to private philanthropy. There are three answers to this pessimistic philosophy: 1. They do not know the happiness of the so-called poor mother or the wretchedness that a death brings; 2. "You cannot run the world that way"; 3. Only by working and fighting for the apparently hopeless can we do our duty by the seemingly hopeful.

"The trail of the little white hearse" should be marked out for every city on a pin map showing each house where an infant died. This is a short cut to a clear story of unsanitary conditions, uninformed or ignorant mothers, and ill-adjusted economic conditions.

The mother who does not worry when her baby is sick because she has had eighteen, as we found last summer in Hoboken, is not heartless and does not fail to miss her baby. *She simply has a wrong conception of Providence.*

Saving Babies Through Official Agencies

While scores of books have been written about keeping babies alive it has received too little attention from government. Private charities cannot do the work. The only agency that can do all that needs to be done is the department of health. How much it knows and whether it acts up to its knowledge is of the utmost importance to learn at first. Do not be contented with what private charity demands or with educational meetings. Be sure the best arrangements have been made for the best work by your community to be done at the time of greatest danger during the summer months. Make private effort supplement, not supplant government effort.

"Won't you move a little faster?" said the baby to the state,
"I keep right on a-dying, and it's getting pretty late;
All sorts of folks are working hard to give me half a chance
But their work is worse than wasted until you join the dance.
Will you, won't you, won't you, will you, will you join the dance?
Won't you, will you, will you, won't you, won't you join the dance?

"For a hundred folks are working, each one shouting his own praise,
And they overlap and underlap a hundred different ways,
They need some organizing, you can see that at a glance;
And you're the one to do it,— so why don't you join the dance?
Will you, won't you, won't you, will you, will you join the dance?

Won't you, will you, will you, won't you, won't you join the dance?

"An inefficient government can make more babies ill
Than all the private charities can cure or ever will;
YOU'RE the only one can keep them well from cradle up to pants,
It's up to you! you'd do it too, if you'd only join the dance.
Will you, won't you, won't you, will you, will you join the dance?
Won't you, will you, will you, won't you, won't you join the dance?"

Health departments should instruct not only by pamphlets, but by word of mouth from mother to mother, house to house visits by nurses, by stories told through the press.

Two years ago a story appeared in the New York newspapers, "What is the Matter with Brooklyn?" pointing out that more babies were dying in proportion to the population in Brooklyn than Manhattan. A Brooklyn paper printed an attack "upon those who would slander Brooklyn." The next morning the college girl who wrote the story for the Manhattan paper came to my office and said I must give her more facts about baby deaths in Brooklyn. I asked why and she said: "I went home last night and asked father who wrote that editorial in the Brooklyn paper. He said he had written it." She had then told him, "You will have to take it back because I wrote that Manhattan story and it is true." As the outcome of this domestic competition the father was compelled by facts to yield and began writing editorials to interest the people of Brooklyn in doing their own part and in get-

ting the health department to do its part in saving its babies.

In the summer of 1910 New York City's death rate jumped up early in June. By the end of June newspapers day after day were announcing heavy mortality and prophesying continued mortality because of continued torrid weather. "Everybody was away." Even the supervisors of the health department were away.

But the newspapers were not away and there was no reason why the community should have been led to believe that of course babies must die because it was hot. When the newspapers changed, the public changed and fewer babies died. For example, one story told that in the baby clinic at The Nurses' Settlement *not one baby had died* from intestinal diseases among eighty-five very sick, undersized, near-to-death babies. The newspapers with largest circulation — *The Evening World* and *Evening Journal* — printed special stories each day, several of them over the signatures of the commissioner of health and leading baby specialists. The public came to see that not only could babies be saved, but it was a disgrace to have them dying at the rate which obtained late in June.

Some Tests of Success in Saving Babies

Get in touch with the head of your local health department and see whether he knows where the babies are, what the milk conditions are and what

he is doing to see that there are clean milk, clean babies and informed mothers.

Because he is spending money it need not follow that he is saving babies.

Do not let him claim credit for reducing mortality when weather conditions are favorable and then blame the weather when deaths increase.

Do not forget either that the test of efficiency in health work is reduction in sickness, not merely reduction in mortality. To keep a baby alive but so weak as later to be easy prey to measles or scarlet fever is not much better than to let it die.

Write to the secretary of your state board of health, who is sure to know the latest experiments and practices in saving babies. You do not need to know his name, and he always has headquarters at the state capitol.

Ask the United States Bureau of Census at Washington for a pamphlet of fifteen pages dealing with the causes of infant mortality and prepared for the American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality. (Headquarters, Baltimore, Md.)

Homes vs. Hospitals as Baby Savers

At New York City's budget exhibit there was a large pin map, already referred to, showing just where babies had died during the summer. Large patches of blue pins showed deaths in hospitals and foundling asylums. Babies die in hospitals partly because they go there too late and partly because babies cannot be saved on the congregate plan.

Write to *The Survey*, New York City, for information about the Speedwell Society which puts babies in country or suburban homes instead of in hospitals, having itinerant nurses and physicians who both tend to the baby and instruct an ever-increasing number of mothers and housewives how to save other mother's babies.

Write to the State Charities Aid Association, New York City, for the story of institution babies saved by placing them in properly supervised homes, thus reducing the number of deaths from 96% to less than 12%, or to that point where to-day a foundling or deserted baby in New York City stands a better chance of living to its second year than a tenement baby born into a loving home.

Caroline Rest School for Expectant Mothers

One of the most interesting efforts to teach mothers how to save their own babies is Caroline Rest at Hartsdale, N. Y. It was founded and endowed in memory of his mother by a retired merchant and bachelor. It takes about eighty mothers just after leaving maternity wards of hospitals or while convalescing at home and gives them two weeks or more of country air and beautiful surroundings, plus instruction to give them strength for home duties and the necessary skill in saving their own babies. In addition, nurses are sent to expectant mothers so that the training begins in time to affect the mother's strength and the first days of the baby's life. Beau-

tifully illustrated pamphlets of educational character can be obtained by writing to Caroline Rest, Hartsdale, N. Y.

Insuring Pure Foods

Voting will not detect impure foods.

It is good for public morals to reflect that the only foods in which New York City's rotten eggs could be profitably used were angel food and lady fingers.

After laws have prohibited the sale of impure foods traffic in impurities will thrive unless there is efficient and continuous inspection. Baking powder will be adulterated with ground rock; vinegar will be compounded of dilute acetic acid colored with burnt sugar; pure maple syrup from Canada sap will have only ten per cent. of maple; coffee will be made from wheat middlings; and castor oil pills without any castor oil.

The advertisement of foods in public papers and magazines and on billboards can be studied and compared with the articles actually sold. State health departments and the national bureau of food and drug inspection will inspect and report whether foods are honestly advertised. Laws should be secured and enforced which prohibit the telling of untruths in connection with foods or medicines.

Where condemned foods go is also important. Obviously it does no good to have vegetables or fruits condemned on the north side of a dock and then, in exchange for a bribe, admitted on the south side as safe.

Is there regular inspection of food by your state or by your city health department?
Do you know how many inspectors there are in your city or state?
Are there any women inspectors?
Have the inspectors other work to do?
Do the courts inflict heavy penalties or merely reprimands for violating food laws?
Are quarterly reports made to the public?
Do the newspapers print these reports?
Do the reports show how many violations were discovered, where, in whose shops, and what was done about them?
What interest have the women of your city taken in food inspection?
Is your milk supply better inspected than other foods?

Insuring Pure Drugs

Voting will not detect impure drugs.

Can you think of a more criminal act than manufacturing adulterated and impure drugs?

The campaign against impure drugs in New York was started after Dr. Herman M. Biggs discovered (in time) that a drug given to a private patient as a last hope to save the patient's life was without power and a fraud.

Almost worse than making impotent drugs is putting vicious drugs like cocaine and morphine into supposedly harmless and helpful cures for headache, indigestion, insomnia, etc.

Regret as we may the large amounts ignorantly spent on drugs, and hope as we may for a time when

fresh air, clean water, natural living, rest and exercise will drive most drugs out of existence, we must be fair minded enough to admit that if we buy drugs we are entitled to protection against impurity and fraud.

A good place to start in your community is with the drugs given babies and children. Your health officer has authority to test these and other drugs. If he does not make regular inspections, write to the state board of health and ask it to make inspections.

Is there inspection of drugs in your town?
Do you know patent medicine fiends?
Do you know total abstainers from alcoholic beverages who are addicted to patent medicines containing alcohol or morphine?
Are your drug stores permitted to sell cocaine snuff to children or adults?
Are there physicians who, for twenty-five cents, will sign prescriptions enabling drug fiends to secure drugs?
Do you know mothers or nurses who pacify the baby with drug frauds?

The Great American Fraud: Patent Medicines

Voting will not expose patent medicine wrongs.

Ethics forbids a reputable physician or dentist from doing educational work through paid advertisements. To this fact is largely due the success of "The Great American Fraud." After reading the Carnegie Foundation's report on the large number of medical colleges that ought to be abandoned and the low standard of training in other colleges that are worth

saving, one suspects that patent medicines ought to be called not *the* but *another* great American fraud.

The fight against patent medicine frauds has been hampered by inefficient medical practice. What private medicine fraud could disillusion the layman more than these two experiences?

A professional man had a sore on the bottom of his foot. Two well-known physicians advised him to go to an orthopedic specialist. For eight weeks the specialist bandaged his foot first daily and then three times a week so as to raise the sore from contact with the shoe, until the bandage hurt worse than the sore. Finally a woman hospital superintendent said, "I wish you would go to a good old-fashioned corn doctor." He went to a chiropodist. In one week the *wart* (which had been steadily growing from self infection for nearly three months) was entirely removed.

A woman suffered for three years from "sciatic rheumatism," "gas on the stomach" and "nervous prostration." Her trouble was almost anything that famous specialists could pronounce. Each remedy was less effective than the last. She was put on a diet, advised to lie in bed mornings and avoid evening parties and particularly to avoid work. After three years of constantly losing ground a wholesome, practical nurse said: "If you won't tell the doctor I believe I can do something for you which will help you." She employed an ancient remedy — irrigation — only making it effective instead of futile, and the problem which had defied medical skill disappeared.

The way out is not to discourage advertising by frauds, but to compel advertising by health departments, hospitals, etc., of the proper treatment of diseases, location of dispensaries, right methods of living, etc.

The truth should be made better known than frauds.

Compare the money spent in advertising patent medicines in your town for curing tuberculosis, cancer, asthma, dyspepsia, eye troubles and sex diseases with the money spent for dispensary or other philanthropic care of these same ailments. In addition to the obvious advertising matter look for *reading notices*, i. e. advertising matter so worded as to give the impression of a news item or editorial comment, but — as a concession to ethics — branded as a biased, partisan, paid-for statement by some mark like *adv.* or ∴. You must look hard for these brands for they will be as small as possible.

Cut out for a period of a month all these advertisements. You can learn from the newspapers the cost of advertising per inch. At the end of the month count the number of inches for each cure; multiply the cost per inch by the total number of inches, thus getting the total outlay by those who advertise. While this will be but a small part of the money spent by the poor on these remedies you will probably find that the cost of advertising alone greatly exceeds the amounts given by private philanthropists to cure these same diseases.

If you carry the test on for a year you will have

a story certain to prove interesting to some newspaper or magazine in your state.

A crusade against frauds under the heading of this chapter was conducted in *Collier's Weekly* which will be glad to send you information. The United States bureau of food inspection and your local health department will give you the truth about the contents of different remedies.

To fight the proposed national bureau of health, frauds of various kinds, combining with some well-meaning people who feared that a strong national bureau would injure Christian Science, osteopathy, etc., spent nearly $1,000,000 in 1910. The value of publicity to frauds and misdemeanants is further illustrated by the fact that when the *New York Herald* was prosecuted and fined $25,000 by the United States Government for printing indecent notices, it was estimated that the annual loss to that one paper alone was $200,000.

Do not be surprised to find that some patent medicine frauds have relations with your health department by which they secure addresses of people known to have tuberculosis or of mothers of young babies. This relation you can stop.

If a number of women will work together you can also persuade your newspapers to stop spreading disease and encouraging dishonesty by printing fraudulent notices. Similarly you can persuade your druggists to flaunt truths instead of frauds in their windows. Most important of all, however, substitute for patent medicine advertisements, advertising through

health remedies, through the proper teaching and practice of hygiene in the public schools and through an efficient department of health.

Woman's Responsibility for Factory Conditions

Ballots do not note factory conditions.

No woman has a right to be happy or comfortable unless she has positive evidence that the conditions in the stores and workshops and factories which supply her with necessities, comforts and luxuries are decent, comfortable, sanitary, and from the standpoint of factory workers compatible with "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

This does not mean that every single purchaser must herself visit all the stores and factories with which she is indirectly in contact. It does mean, however, that she should answer for herself the following questions asked in a recent appeal by the New York State Consumers' League:

Are you interested to help make industrial conditions better for the great army of women and children who work in factories and stores?

Are you interested in shorter hours, better air, seats for tired workers, Saturday half-holidays and a summer vacation for all employés?

Are you interested to put a stop to overtime work for women and girls with its physical and moral risks?

Are you interested to help abolish the Sweating System in manufacture?

Are you interested to help enforce laws that prevent the corruption of children in night trades?

Are you interested in wise legislation for the future of our working girls and women?

It means further that she can be the means of making available to all of her neighbors through public and school libraries the literature published by the National Consumers' League, the Women's Welfare Auxiliary of the National Civic Federation, and the official reports showing the efficiency or inefficiency of the inspection service by the city and state forces which are responsible for sanitary conditions of workshops.

Some Tests for the Woman Purchaser

The only way the individual can protect herself is to see that the whole of society is protecting each worker through the only agencies which represent all and each,— state, city and national governments.

Try the following steps:

1. See whether there is a special division or department whose business it is to know and to report the truth about all factory conditions and to correct unsanitary or unsafe conditions in your community
2. Learn from its reports whether it seems to be business-like and interested or perfunctory
3. Through a committee see for yourself typical factory conditions and thus test the official inspection
4. Get from the National Consumers' League (New York City), the cards with which you may "score" the principal shops and factories in your own city. Only an exceptional business-

> man or manufacturer can afford to refuse to permit an intelligent, earnest committee of women to make an inspection of his store or factory or dairy. Public sentiment will, however, support a refusal to have busy-bodies, without a programme, come into a man's business, ask irrelevant questions and make inaccurate reports

The Consumers' League card calls for *yes* and *no* answers to questions such as these:

Are children under sixteen employed?
Are goods taken from the factory at any stage for work?
At what hours does the work start and end, mornings, afternoons and Saturdays?
To what hour is night work continued?
What is the supper period?
Is the factory properly lighted?
Is it clean?
Are seats provided with backs?
Are the hours posted?
Is machinery properly guarded?
Are there fire escapes according to law?
Is the ventilation good or bad?
Are there separate toilets for women?
Are these clean, dirty, in working order?
Are there separate dressing rooms for women?
Are these clean or dirty?

Find out whether the courts help or block the enforcement of the law regarding sanitary conditions in factories. Then tell the truth about the action of magistrates and the public through the newspapers. Public sentiment will compel enforcement of the law if the truth is generally known. Magis-

trates are very sensitive to criticism by the people they know best, therefore make their acts known to those who suffer as well as to your city's "best people."

How many violations were reported?
How many violators were held for trial?
How prompt was the trial?
How many violators were dismissed without trial?
How many were fined? How much?
Did trial result in correction of conditions?

Few investments of women's energy have brought such large results as those which have been given to telling definite facts about the working conditions in shops and factories. A good way to begin is with the establishments maintained by the public, such as schools and other public buildings. Take next churches and theaters. Once having learned to score the physical conditions of such buildings, it will be easy to step over into private industries for similar definite tests.

For working material and information address the President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs; the National Consumer's League, New York City, which is now preparing a hand book of instructions for its members; the Woman's Welfare Auxiliary of the National Civic Federation, New York City; Miss Frances Kellor, bureau of industry, 40 E. 29th St., New York City; Mrs. John K. Ottley, Atlanta, Ga.

Some Practical Tests for Factory Women

Do not try to be ultra-scientific and get all the facts there are, but look for symptoms of greatest danger, such as are suggested in the following set of questions which the Woman's Trade Union League, New York City, asked all women workers in New York's factories to answer just after the Newark fire in which a number of working girls perished:

Name of your factory.
Number and street of your factory.
What is your trade?
How many floors in your building?
On which floor do you work?
How many people in your room?
How many windows in your room?
Are windows barred or nailed down?
Are doors locked during working hours?
Do doors open in or out?
How many fire escapes are there?
Are they in rear or front?
How many staircases?
Are they in rear or front?
Are staircases wood, iron or stone?
Is the way to fire escape clear or obstructed?
Are halls dark or lighted?

Are You Helping to Stop Child Labor?

Voting cannot stop child labor.

An educator said to the Illinois State Teachers' Association in December, 1910, that for children from twelve to fifteen years of age in American schools the greatest need is for an eight-hour day

twelve months in the year,— twenty-five hundred school hours a year for each child.

And this after a crusade against work for children under sixteen!

The advantage of being altruistic by way of influencing government has never been more clearly shown than in the work of the national and state child labor committees. Women enthusiastically remind us of the admirable work done by women in securing the passage of child labor laws in many states. But the real secret of the success of this anti-child-labor crusade is in a small nucleus ever active, always well informed, always definite in its suggestions, always working through existing agencies and upon government, known as the National Child Labor Committee, New York City.

If women have responded to the picture of a higher age limit for workers, it was also a woman who said that it was high time children were set to work so as to take them off the street and out of peoples' way. If women promoted the first laws prohibiting child labor, women also evaded the laws for returning truants to school while other women spent fortunes earned by employing and exploiting child labor.

The condition of the child, not his place of employment, nor his age, should be women's chief interest. Many a factory is more sanitary than the nearest school. Being a grocer's errand boy is safer from the standpoint of health than being a school child in almost any school in this country. Being

an errand boy is also often a shorter road to education than attending the nearest school.

Wherever the child labor law is enforced — and every state should have the standard law promulgated by the national committee — its advocates soon come to see that we must know the teaching and living conditions in our public schools before we can feel justified in compelling a child to go to school at family expense instead of adding to the family income by work.

Work is no more incompatible with play than is any other form of confinement. We are beginning to see that confinement in school is of itself no more wholesome than confinement in a workshop and that home work may do as much damage as factory work.

Has your state a law preventing child labor under sixteen?

Is it enforced?

How many inspectors are there?

Do your school records show how many children there are of the ages twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen and how many of each age are in school and out of school?

Do you see that you cannot hope to enforce the child labor laws if your schools are without a proper school census and efficient attendance officers?

Are your attendance officers efficient?

Do they reach parochial and private school children?

Must children of whatever age take physical examinations before being given working papers?

Are parents told of physical defects and dangers

of their children to prevent undue child labor even when permitted by law?

Have your public and school libraries the literature and laws of child labor?

Has your woman's club a committee following the enforcement of the law?

Housing Evils

Voting will not locate housing evils.

Wherever man is there is the possibility of housing evils.

The worst form of congestion is a crowd of germs, not a crowd of people.

A tenement bedroom without a window is no worse than a mansion bedroom with heavy draperies before the window.

The last conference on housing evils which I heard was in a room overlooking a college campus. Every sort of remedy was suggested for congestion in big cities. Yet the air in that room was worse than could be found in the average tenement house or sweat shop in the worst congested portions of New York.

No house — for living, sleeping, working — should be built in country or city that does not provide light, and moving clean air. This means building departments that inspect plans before houses or stores or factories are erected; plans for school houses should be subject to such inspection by a central state board.

For information as to housing evils in this country and abroad, tenement house construction, building

laws, methods of inspection, etc., address the National Housing Association, and the Committee on Congestion, New York City. The former advertises its willingness to help you.

Do not permit your local enthusiast on housing evils to deflect your interest in public affairs from such questions as budgets, building inspection, public schools, health management, and supervision of dwellings to the erection of a handful of model tenements. As a part of a general social programme model houses are very important. As a substitute for a general programme they are utterly inadequate.

Fight Housing Evils at Home

The best cure for housing evils is knowledge and practice in breathing fresh air, plus earning capacity.

Few philanthropists will try seriously to stop housing evils who cover their own heads with blankets or who shut their own windows to keep out the night air. It is folly to try to get up public excitement about bad air in working districts when churches and theaters and sick rooms are filthy with unclean air.

The way to fight bad air is to call it dirty air. While it will take years to readjust industrial conditions, it need take but weeks or months to secure adequate ventilation of public assembly rooms, school buildings, churches and one's own residence, work room and sleeping room.

A wealthy woman once told me she was a "fresh air fiend." She was tremendously interested in the

housing question. Business sent me to a home that was back to back with this woman's home. Her own bedroom looked out upon an open yard with one or two trees. At night her maid or herself would open a window about six inches, then close the wooden shutters on the inside and then draw the curtain down to the bottom of the shutter. Verily, she was a "fresh air fiend."

When I cited this case to a college friend, she said she had recently gone into the country with another "fresh air fiend" to spend the night. A flood of cold air was let into the room and the windows left wide open. Although my friend nearly froze to death she was glad she was counted as a fresh air enthusiast. When early in the morning she woke up she found that the propagandist in the next bed had her head entirely covered with woolen blankets. Another "fresh air fiend"!

Causes of Overcrowding and Remedies

New York City's congestion committee persuaded Mayor Gaynor to appoint a city commission on congestion of population. After working about a year this commission reported with respect to congestion and room overcrowding under five headings: (1) conditions; (2) effects; (3) causes; (4) methods adopted by American and foreign cities to prevent; (5) recommendations for relieving the present and future congestion and room overcrowding.

You will do well to secure a copy of this report. It will suggest a number of evils to avoid in your

own community if it is a growing city. Adding to it information which the National Housing Association will send you, you should be in a position to make a survey of the housing conditions of your own community and of its housing laws and methods of administration that in a short time would furnish the basis for preventive and constructive work if such is needed.

Suburban communities will be interested in the proposals to limit the height of tenement houses in outlying districts, (1) "to the width of the widest street upon which it stands," and (2) to three stories no matter what the width of the widest street.

Are Your Streets Clean?

Ballots cannot clean streets.

Better than almost anything else do streets illustrate how far we have come from the time when having one's own home scrupulously clean discharged one's duty as a citizen. Even small towns and country districts are no longer safe in relying upon individual cleanliness.

Self government by children in schools, or children's street cleaning brigades by whatever names, will do much to train children in proper standards of cleanliness for streets.

There is no more useful motive than the desire to look neat and prosperous. This æsthetic motive is strengthened by the knowledge that dirt and litter will foster disease.

Make It Easy to Keep Streets Clean

When is a street clean?

Does cleanliness of street affect self-respect?

Do you agree with Professor S. N. Patten, the economist, that the quickest way to get clean streets in the uncleanest districts of a city would be to give every girl and woman in those districts a beautiful white dress which she will want to keep clean?

Have you wastebaskets on your street?

Do you personally want clean streets for health reasons or beauty reasons?

What is your own share of the cost of street cleaning?

Would you be willing to pay more?

Have you tried to stimulate pride of efficiency in your steet cleaners by giving medals or other forms of "bouquets" or rewards?

Do travelers returning to your city contrast its unclean streets with the cleaner streets of nearby or urban cities?

Is there any reason why Englishmen or Germans should be cleaner in Birmingham and Berlin than in Boston and Buffalo?

But it must be made easy to keep streets and alleys clean. A woman, who more than any other interested a certain great city in clean streets, for years succeeded in preventing the placing of cans on the street for receiving newspaper wrappings, banana peels and other waste matter. Why? *On the ground that people must be taught to take such things home.*

The trouble with this puritan philosophy is that people do not want to carry things around with them all day out of a love for civic order.

Just as policemen make order easy by being around as reminders, so wastebaskets inhibit a desire to throw on the walks and in the streets those things which can be easily placed in a receptacle. Fortunately commerce caters to this need and has for sale numerous receptacles within the reach of any neighborhood.

Sprinkling and flushing the streets at common cost, removing the garbage at common cost, cleaning outhouses at common cost, and building streets of material that make them easy to clean are all important steps.

Many cities and towns neglect street cleaning in the winter or when snow is on the ground; hence, conditions that would be intolerable if they could be more easily seen are permitted to grow worse and worse, until, as Paul West says:

> We have to slop and slush
> Through oceans of miasmic mush
> And dirt and slime and sticking mud
> That breeds bacteria for our blood,
> And gives us grip and shiv'ring chills
> And all the other human ills,
> And makes us madly rage and roar:
> "Say, what do we have street-cleaners for?"

The preventable and transmissible diseases due to unclean streets may easily cost a community more than cleaning streets.

Helping Officials Keep Streets Clean

Some cities have an annual cleaning day, which is unquestionably a splendid thing. But after all, an annual cleaning day for any city where there is a woman's club or where women are able to get around is too much like the monthly bath of the man who "takes one every month whether he needs it or not."

A woman's club can be sure that the local public or school library has the latest information on street cleaning and subscribes to one or two journals that give new information. Journals are better than books because they tell of new experiments like the flushing of streets in New York City, which is said to be better and cheaper than sweeping. Besides, the editors of journals, such as *The Municipal Journal and Engineering News* or *The Survey*, New York City, make it a point to keep in touch with the latest evidence and experience and are glad to answer technical as well as general questions. For the story of women's coöperation in street cleaning address Woman's Municipal League, New York City, or Woman's Municipal League, Boston.

Social work with street cleaners will be a good investment. In proportion as they respect their calling will they enjoy it and perform its duties well.

A committee can do a great deal whose business it is to make not only an annual tour but a monthly tour of the city streets most apt to be neglected and of

the alleys, suburbs and ravines where people love to dump the city's waste.

Try making pin maps of clean and unclean streets.

Where Unclean Streets Are Unforgivable

Certain it is that in no community is there the slightest excuse for uncleanliness and lack of order about the buildings owned by the whole community — city hall, hospital, board of education building, etc.— nor is there any excuse for neglect immediately in front of the door or on the street crossing of a prominent club woman. Some of the uncleanest front yards, back yards, alleys and gutters I ever saw were within a stone's throw of one of the best-known social settlements in the United States. Some of the uncleanest buildings and grounds I ever saw were state houses and city halls, none of which had the excuse of a certain boys' republic,— *waiting for the citizens to evolve standards of cleanliness.*

Two Street Cleaning Jingles

Utilize the newspaper. Dirt makes news. Protests against dirt make news. Ways of preventing dirt make news. If your water department refuses to allow flushing of streets, try this:

> Mother, may I go clean the streets?
> Yes, my darling daughter,
> Go out and clean with all your might,
> But don't use *any* water!

Utilize your schools. Interest children in the many ways in which dirt murders. Work out healthgrams

such as are being spread broadcast through Michigan by the state board of health and give prizes, or get your newspapers to offer prizes for health jingles like this:

Whenever you spit, whenever you sneeze,
Whenever your rugs you beat,
When you scatter dust with a feather broom
And shake it out in the street,
When rubbish you pile upon the road,
When ash barrels have no top,
You're poisoning the air for somebody's lungs,
And it's time that you should stop.

Sanitary Survey of Streets

Are the streets in front of your house clean?
Are the streets in front of your business place clean?
Are the streets in your crowded districts cleaned daily?
Are the streets in your crowded districts cleaned weekly?
Do you know why?
Are there holes in your streets?
Have you surface drainage?
Have you receptacles on the streets for waste paper and other refuse?
Are your streets cleaned in the day-time? or
Are your streets cleaned at night?
Are the street sweepings put in covered wagons? or
Are the street sweepings put in open wagons and blown out again into people's eyes?
Do street cleaners respect their work themselves?
Do you use water for flushing the streets?
Do you use sprinklers?
Do you see how lighting streets well at night will make it easier to keep them clean?
Is there an organized interest among your school

children like the Waring Brigades for keeping streets clean?

Is there any committee or society of women whose special interest is keeping streets clean?

Do you see that children would take less interest in keeping streets clean if they are constantly told that streets are unfit places for play?

The Disposal of Refuse

Voting will not dispose of refuse.

The best way to dispose of refuse is not to have any. It is more economical to use up meats and vegetables than to put them in the garbage can. Have you never realized that garbage is one of the chief causes of the higher cost of living?

Where open fires are used or furnaces there is every reason for burning waste paper, garbage and other house refuse. Unfortunately we cannot burn ashes, and more and more of us are living where we use gas and electricity and cannot burn our own garbage in the kind of ranges provided. Even here, however, the commercial motive is busy inventing, making and marketing for from $70 to $180 "sanitary disposal of garbage and refuse where it originates" in home, hospital, school, etc.

There can be no city beautiful until there is a city clean. There can be no city clean where it is not made easy to bathe the body, to clean streets and to remove garbage and other waste incident to living and working together.

Garbage disposal in cities should be a source of

profit to taxpayers but of not enough profit to be a nuisance. For latest facts address the *Municipal Journal and Engineering News*, New York City.

It is a great mistake to think that the disposing of waste is not a problem in small towns and country districts. Horrible conditions exist in many a back yard, on isolated farms and in country towns, which are apt to be overlooked until some nearby urban district has typhoid or scarlet fever.

Waterworks and running sewers hidden from the eye can do much. Surface sewers should be abandoned wherever practical. Cesspools should be compelled in the country, as in England. Outhouses should be regularly inspected in the country as well as in small towns, as in rural England. Fire is a great cleanser and is practical everywhere.

What happens to garbage in your city?
Is it permitted to be a nuisance?
Is your duty over when your own garbage leaves your premises?
Is waste land filled in with garbage permitted without disinfection or plowing under?
What books on garbage disposal have your city officers or your library?
Are the facts about garbage disposal in your city understood by business men and women's clubs?
If there is not yet any systematic collection, is the time ripe for a coöperative enterprise?
If the subject is one of general complaint, cannot you get the simpler remedies applied at once?

Play in Streets

The street as a playground has been very much maligned. The wonders and opportunities not the evils of city streets should be emphasized.

Children within half a block of playgrounds and parks prefer to play in their own streets a great part of the time. There is a reason.

Instead of driving children off the streets because the streets are not fit to play on, the thing to do in most cities is to make the streets fit to play on, keep them clean, reserve some of them from traffic, protect the play enough to prevent unnecessary arrests while securing amends for broken windows and preventing noise near hospitals and sick persons. Little can be accomplished by making a bug-a-boo of public streets.

Much can be accomplished by making children proud of their streets, by making the streets something to be proud of, and by recognizing their play possibilities.

An examination would probably show that in no cities are streets used for play so much and so well as in those cities which have organized playgrounds and recreation centers. Playgrounds interest children in play and show them more ways to play. Just as public baths increase rather than decrease the frequency of home bathing, so playgrounds increase the number of children who want to play. Children who learn games that can be played in a ten-foot square on a playground under a supervisor can never be

taught to scorn a fifty-foot street without a supervisor wherever enough get together for those same games.

Why not organize brigades for proper street play such as have been successfully organized for cleaning streets?

Are you ashamed of your street?

Did you ever play on the street?

Did you ever enjoy any play more?

Is it out of the question to prevent wagon traffic on certain streets after school hours?

Did you ever see a more beautiful moon than you can see from a city street?

Did the stars ever look bigger and clearer than when viewed from the telescope furnished by tall houses on a street?

Can anything keep the outlines of city buildings from being beautiful if the pictures include the curves and colors of the sky?

If you started the gospel of beautiful streets and safe streets, would you do less for play than by protesting against your streets because they are unsafe and unclean?

If children were taught that streets should be fit to play in, would they take a greater interest in keeping them clean and beautiful?

Play in Parks

"Shall sheep or people have the parks?"

This question stared at all visitors to New York City's budget exhibit. If sheep use the park the lawns will be kept green and beautiful to look at. If people use the park, the grass will be worn out. The people who ride through parks in automobiles

would rather see green grass than bare ground. Most of them would rather see sheep than people.

This issue between service and beauty, enjoyment by the few and enjoyment by the many, is one that will last as long as some people walk while others ride in automobiles, or at least until those who ride in automobiles can see more beauty in a family picnic on the green grass than in grazing sheep.

In Chicago there is nothing incompatible between park beauty and popularization of parks through baseball, tennis, croquet, public baths and wading pools. Perhaps that is because the popular features have been put in the right place and given an orderly appearance.

Compromise is possible everywhere. Every city needs its play space. Quite as much does every city need open spaces where people do not conduct athletic contests. It is just as much playing in the best sense of the term to sit on a park bench, rest, read or walk through a park path as to play football.

Have plenty of play space outside your big parks so that there will be no temptation to cut up the central park or zoölogical garden into baseball grounds.

Parks should be properly lighted at night to encourage the right people to come in and the wrong people to stay out.

It is easy to waste money on park sites and park expenses. Be sure your parks are costing no more than they should and that park payrolls are not overcrowded. If there is any place in the world where

laborers should appear to be earning their salaries it is in public parks and playgrounds.

For two reports of things to avoid in managing public parks and playgrounds, send to the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City for *Park Question No. 1 Pertaining to Administration and Accounting Methods* and *Park Question No. 2 Pertaining to Revenues and Deposits.*

The Playground Movement

Unless you are very careful your playground movement will become a playground standstill and backward movement and we shall have several hundred cities with playground white elephants on their hands because of mismanagement. Few cities whose general government is inefficient will fail to be disappointed in the management of their playgrounds.

Soul of Play vs. Supervision

Do not stifle the soul of play with parallel bars, periodic games, inflexible programmes and expert supervision. Do not sacrifice the interest of hundreds of children to develop team work. Do not spend $108.00 on a bird house, as did New York's play supervisor last summer, when eight cents worth of material plus children's interest will build one just as good.

No open space called a playground, no matter how it is fitted up, can be made into a playground unless children associate a good time with that space. When the National Playground Association was

started President Roosevelt advised against too much supervision. Observers have discovered the same tendency on the part of children to prefer an old vacant lot to the "organized playground" as to prefer an old rag doll to the modern contraptions that excel in cost, in finery, mechanical adjuncts and everything except in appeal to the child.

For a list of 400 cities with playgrounds and their cost, address the National Playground Association, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City. Consult its monthly journal — *The Playground* — for advice as to starting a playground movement, what to do, what to avoid and how to get its expert organizer.

Special Claims of Sex

The same full tide of sex equality which demands the abolition of sex lines demands at the same time recognition of certain sex differences.

Wherever women themselves undervalue these sex differences, society must step forward because the whole community bears the burden and pays the penalty for all neglect of these special claims imposed by nature herself.

Girls are going to be mothers. Their strength must be conserved. Girls are subject to temptation; hence special safeguards should be thrown around their employment with men.

Girls should be instructed as to the special meaning of their special sex and its relation to the other sex. The age of consent should be raised to eighteen *or* twenty-one, some would say to fifty.

Not only civil service but the law for private service should permit the approaching mother to drop her employment for at least two weeks prior to the birth of a child and for at least two weeks after the birth of a child, without loss of employment, and some would say without loss of compensation.

Under the leadership of the National Consumer's League forty-one legislatures are being asked in the winter of 1911 to pass a uniform law restricting the hours of women which contains all the best provisions now enforced in any state:

A working week of six days; not more than sixty hours, preferably fifty-six, fifty-four or forty-eight.

Abolition of night work.

A closing hour set at six P. M. in the textile industries and not later than ten P. M. in others, following the precedent of Massachusetts.

A working day of ten hours, preferably not more than nine or eight.

A short working day on Saturday, if provided, should not depend upon longer hours on other working days.

Working hours to be posted where the persons named in the notice actually do work, not in remote corners; posted notice to show hours of beginning and hours of stopping for noon hour; hours of beginning and stopping in the afternoon; presence on premises to constitute *prima facie* evidence of employment.

The words "permitted or suffered to work" are indispensable in addition to "required" in the prohibiting sections.

No industries should be exempted in the text bill.

The title should state that the measure is to promote the public health (or the health of the employés designated) and must contain every subject mentioned in the text. (The statute of Nebraska is attacked because its title is defective.)

These special claims of sex will become more insistent with each forward step in abolishing sex lines. The problem is not what ought to be, but how lines may be drawn practically so that motherhood, sisterhood, girlhood and femalehood may be recognized and protected without doing injustice to mothers and sisters and daughters by overtaxing the male's capacity to carry such portion of the burden as enlightened public sentiment may put on his shoulders.

Should women be permitted to clean streets or tend bar or drive public hacks or act as brakemen, policemen, firemen?

Should women be allowed to violate nature's laws if they want to?

Should women have a lower maximum number of working hours per week than men?

Should all night employment of women away from their homes be prohibited?

Should the law regulate the employment of women at home?

Are women ever injured by their amusements?

Should the law interfere with such amusements by prohibiting, for example, dancing after mid-

night or smoking of cigarettes by nervous women?

Should pregnancy or menstruation be made a legal excuse from jury service or from labor contracts?

A National Children's Bureau or Nation Wide Work for Children by All Bureaus?

"Hypothetical history" is said to be profitless.

Because this year is almost always better than last year we are fairly under compulsion to admit that the means used last year were better than other means which were proposed but rejected.

"Every little helps a little" is a method we have been using. Why should we not, therefore, continue to use it?

It stands to reason, we are told, that we cannot interest all or any considerable part of us in the same part of a problem or in all problems at the same time. By zigzagging, therefore, we are said to make most headway. When some new work is to be done we are asked to concentrate for a short spell on the new enthusiasm. Thus, as a means of helping the nation's children we are asked to demand a children's bureau. Belief in a children's bureau is made a test of our interest in children.

Yet think what this proposition means!

We have a United States bureau of education in touch with 20,000,000 children through fifty state superintendents, thousands of city superintendents and 500,000 teachers. We are told we cannot hope

to help children through this national bureau of education. It has been inefficient. It has been unpopular. President Roosevelt failed to discover it. President Taft did not mention it in his annual message of 22,000 words. It has never had money enough to do enough work. Let us try, therefore, something new.

We have various health bureaus which should deal with the welfare of the child before he goes to school and after he leaves. These have been divided, have been inefficient, have tried to do too little, have had too little money. Let us repudiate them and start a new agency.

We have a United States bureau of census collecting information with regard to child welfare. It has not asked a number of questions which ought to be asked. The general public is not enthusiastic about it. Let us not try to work through this bureau but start an independent bureau.

Instead of harnessing to a comprehensive programme for child welfare, these great national agencies and corresponding state and city agencies in all parts of the country, it is proposed that we concentrate upon a central children's bureau with one-half dozen workers and one or two able investigators.

Nothing more characteristic of social uplift work in the past can be found than this effort to do nation-wide service through a new small agency rather than through existing comprehensive agencies. The child is not more important than the parent. The child is not more important than the civilization of which he

is a part. We cannot afford to relieve the schools, the health bureaus and the census department of their responsibility. Sooner or later we must come to see that 100% is bigger than 3% and that the way to compensate for inefficiency in an agency which employs 500,000 teachers is to make it efficient and not to start a new agency.

The energy which has been put into the demand for a separate children's bureau might, if differently directed, have got done all the work planned for that bureau, plus untold other benefits, through existing bureaus that could have been vitalized and strengthened.

Health Jingles

"The efficacy of rhymes in education has long been known. They may be used quite as effectively in emphasizing health hints to children. For example the Bureau of Municipal Research sends us:

Mary had a little cold
  That started in her head,
And everywhere that Mary went
  That cold was sure to spread.

It followed her to school one day
  (There wasn't any rule);
It made the children cough and sneeze
  To have that cold in school.

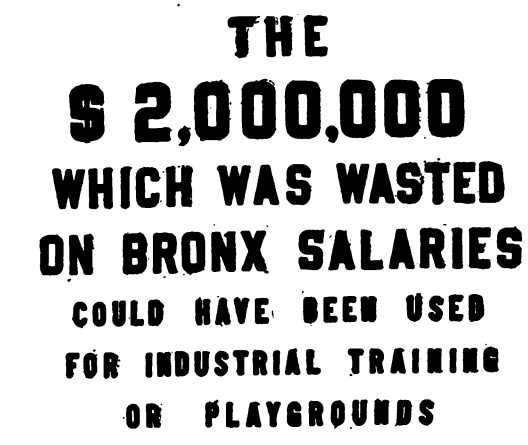
The teacher tried to drive it out,
  She tried hard, but — kerchoo!
It didn't do a bit of good.
  For teacher caught it too.

"Now that is the old truth, that combining entertainment with instruction facilitates the latter. It

may not be too late even now, for our board of health to issue its warnings to the people in the form of rhymed parodies on well-known verses. Perhaps some of our readers may be able to supply a jingle with a taking lilt which will appeal to our citizens and appreciably influence a good many of them to follow the precautions necessary under present conditions. There are no prizes offered, but no doubt many of our readers will be happy to try their hands at a little diversion which may redound to the public good." Editorial, Erie, Pa., *Dispatch.*

But why not offer prizes in your town?

A BUDGET EXHIBIT SIGN, 1908



Health Needs Furnish Reasons for Efficient Government

X

HOW WOMEN MAY HELP THEIR SCHOOLS, PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND PAROCHIAL

What is the Matter with the American Public School?

Overworked pupils
Overtaxed teachers
Overloaded curriculum
Obsolete ideals
Insufficient salaries

No originality
No system
No flexibility
No variety
No critical faculty

Lack of concentration
Lack of drill
Lack of discipline
Lack of symmetry
Lack of thoroughness

Too much undertaken
Teaching tangled
Teaching inefficient
Teaching hurried
Teaching perfunctory

Too many classes
Too many books
Too many subjects
Too many methods
Too large classes

Confusion
System distended
Records unreliable
Blind experimentalism
Retardation unexplained

Composition insufficient
Drawing undeveloped
Nature study worthless
Arithmetic impractical
Grammar neglected

Teachers untrained
Too much "school man"
Child study abnormal
Education superficial
Traditions dangerous

Culture artificial
Moral "dry rot"
Pupils indifferent
Parents disgusted
Multiplicity of studies

Congestion of criticism
Distraction and dissipation
Emotional strain
Loss of efficiency
Letdown in serious work

The above "matters" with the public school are not my opinion. They are taken from articles by leading educators of the United States, Germany and England in the *Educational Review* (published by Columbia University) from 1890–1910.

Are similar complaints ever made against your local public schools?

Do the Schools Need Outside Help?

From three hundred and fifteen city superintendents of schools the Bureau of Municipal Research has learned of help given to the schools by citizens other than by service on board of education, by voting and by paying taxes, as shown by the accompanying diagram:

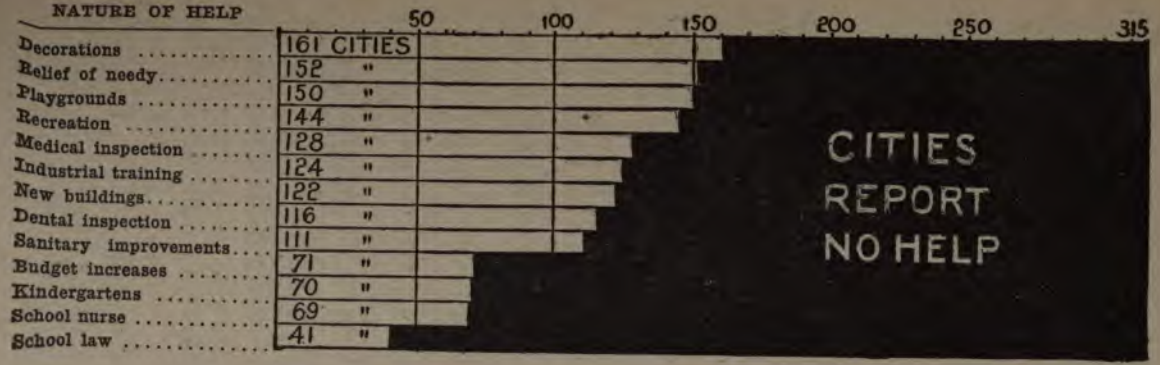
For a detailed report, including answers from several hundred business men, women, dentists, physicians and ministers, write for the report on *Civic Cooperation with Public Schools*, made possible and conducted by a 1910 graduate of Bryn Mawr College, Miss Elsa Denison of Denver.

Reasons for Outside Coöperation with Schools

Do you know any city where voluntary interest in public schools is as well organized as interest in hospitals, orphan asylums or other private charities?

Should more women care about juvenile courts than about juvenile education?

Is there any other field which offers to college women such wide opportunities for civic service as coöperation with public schools?



Other kinds of help mentioned

Vacation Schools — 5 cities
Parents Associations — 4 cities
Scholarships, School Gardens, Athletics, Equipment, Drinking Fountains, Open Air Schools — 3 cities each

Home Gardens, Public Lectures, Libraries, Pianos, Music, Lunches, Dental Treatment, Beautifying Grounds — 2 cities each

Night Schools, Savings Banks, Instruction in Civics, Endowment, Instruction in Hygiene, Parties, Clubs, Pure Milk — 1 city each

Teacher Retirement Fund, Employment, Boy Scouts, Instruction in Agriculture, Stereopticon Lanterns, Medical Treatment — 1 city each

What proportion of women now most interested in your schools are mothers and how many have children in the public schools?

Who needs a friendly visitor more than the school teacher? To whom can your teachers go to discuss their problems?

Does your school superintendent want your intelligent help or your unquestioning endorsement?

Is interest in schools largely confined to women or do business men keep in touch?

Has your town learned that understanding schools requires trained workers, money, continuous study, simple presentation of facts to the public and persistent demand for action in conformity with the facts?

There are four reasons for the relatively slight attention heretofore given by private citizens and other organizations to public school needs:

(1) It has been generally assumed that schools were doing their work all right and did not need help from the outside

(2) Private attention is more easily attracted to public nuisances and to flagrant and pathetic cases of need just as a sore finger receives more attention than the other nine fingers

(3) Opportunities for coöperation have not been disclosed to the public by school reports and school teachers

(4) Once having persuaded the school to put in new ideas volunteers have assumed that these new ideas would be equitably distributed and well administered

Don't stop with pictures and fads. They are not big enough. The sanitary conditions, kind of in-

struction, efficiency of teacher and nurse, physical examination for defects, happiness of school environment, cleanliness of air and buildings,— are all subjects for special committees. Write to your State Federation of Women's Clubs for the story of work recently done by national and state federations through their educational committees.

For the story of New York's effort to get a basis in fact for civic coöperation with the schools and for the method and results of the inquiry into school efficiency that will be conducted from 1911 through 1913 by the city government, write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, 261 Broadway.

School Health and Philanthropy

It is one of the anomalies of philanthropy that so much attention has been given to small fractions of the child population and to small fractions of the conditions affecting child welfare.

Two gifts have recently been made by women for ways of promoting the school child's health that merit emulation.

After seeing how inadequate the facilities were for removing physical defects and especially for attending to them, Miss Whitney was on the point of starting a dental dispensary. She finally decided that instead of helping a few children in one particular place she would try to interest a large number of private philanthropists and dentists to work with parents and existing agencies to promote children's health. She, therefore, gave a fund of $10,000 for " making

known everywhere what is known to be necessary everywhere for the physical welfare of school children." That fund was used to gather facts and distribute them among about 600 city and state superintendents of schools and the newspaper editors of the leading cities of the country. Through the school officials, newspapers and magazines, interest was aroused that reached millions of adults and benefited millions of children. The work thus begun will go on and extend from the momentum of local interest and local benefits. For facts regarding this work, address the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

Another interesting experiment in helping school children through school officials is that of Mrs. Robert L. Stevens of Hoboken, N. J. She wished to establish a memorial for her husband and had in mind first a gift to a hospital or a dispensary. She began to ask herself such questions as these: Do I want to help 3% or 100% of the children in Hoboken? Would I like to see saved 80% or 100% of the babies of Hoboken? Would I like to coöperate with 5% or 100% of the citizens of Hoboken? Of course, she was compelled to answer in each case *100% if possible.* She decided, therefore, to establish a memorial fund for Municipal Research in Hoboken which should work in coöperation with the only Hoboken agency which belonged to everybody, *i. e.*, the city government.

So far as the health of school children was concerned the principal work of this fund was to supply a trained nurse in September, 1910, who has

rendered the kind of service which, in the future, will insure a trained nurse paid by the schools to interest Hoboken mothers to have removed the physical defects discovered at school.

What Some Chicago Mothers Are Asking

Is the air in your child's room fresh when he enters, and is it changed at intervals?

How is the air moistened, if at all?

Is your child's seat adjusted to his size, and is he placed where he best can see?

Is your child permitted to exercise and enjoy his recess out of doors?

Is there a place for your child to wash and dry his hands?

Does your child still use a slate?

When cleaning does the janitor use moist sawdust for the floors, and how often are they scrubbed, and how are the desks cleaned and dusted if at all?

Does your child in high school complain that his teacher does not show him how to do new work, particularly in mathematics?

In dramatics or games is your child required to lie or sit down on the dirty, dusty floor, or to exchange paper caps?

Is your child's school on a street car line so that his voice is strained in trying to overcome the noise?

What the Department of School Patrons of the National Education Association is Asking About School Revenue

How is the revenue for school purposes obtained in your state?

Do you have both state and local taxation for school purposes? If so which furnishes the greater part of the revenue? Do you approve the plan?

Is the present revenue sufficient to meet the needs of the schools?

How are you securing the coöperation of school patrons in working for increased school revenue?

What Women's Clubs in Oregon are Asking

What has your club done toward improving the health of your school children (such as gardens, medical inspection, physical instruction, school lunches, etc.)?

To bring teachers and parents into closer relationship, and uniting their interests?

Toward better school buildings (sanitation, equipment, adornment and libraries)?

For better preparation of teachers?

To personally inspect the school buildings?

To evolve a plan whereby children are given credit, on their report card, for assistance in household work done at home, "helping mother"?

Toward abolishing the drinking cup and furnishing bubbling fountains?

Do your members, as a rule, attend the taxpayers' meeting in December?

How many of your members attended the annual school meeting last June?

What one thing has impressed you as needing our attention and help?

Compulsory Health with Compulsory Education

Whatever doubts we may have about the teaching of German in the eighth grade or of manual training in the fourth grade, not one human being can possibly believe that the state has any right in its program for universal education to injure the health of a school child, to keep it in an environment harmful to its health, or to fail to discover where the child's health is below normal. This prohibition, like its corollary, *adequate health protection for the school child,* applies just as much to the school child in a parochial, charitable or private school as to the school child in a public school.

Watching School Sanitation

The ballot is not a sanitarian.

Unsanitary school conditions are not confined to large cities. Therefore, wherever there is a school building there is something for a woman's visiting committee to do.

Visit schools when in session and not after four o'clock or on Saturdays or during the summer time. Preferably, too, visits should be paid when possible unsanitary conditions will be at their maximum. Windows will naturally be open in June; therefore, ventilation is better tested in January. See before schools open in the fall whether they have been properly cleansed and ventilated.

Name the particular room where floors are unclean, the particular janitor who was careless, the particular ventilating apparatus that does not work.

Any town, any mayor or any school board will receive a clearer impression from a discussion of 100% of the school rooms than from complaint against one.

Nobody will defend unsanitary schools. Few public services result in such prompt remedial action as attention to school sanitation.

Do Rural Schools Need Health Supervision?

One school of 120 children benefited as follows from finding and removing physical defects:

> The pupils are in better health generally; those who were backward are making up for lost time; there are not so many backward pupils to take an undue proportion of the teacher's time; there has been emphasized to the parents the importance of caring more thoroughly for the health of their children; indeed the work of teachers and pupils,— of the school as a whole — is more efficient. . . . There has been less need for attention to physical defects because of the work done last year; also has the physician been of aid in preventing the spread of contagious diseases. We have reached the point where people and the board of education would hardly be willing to have 100 children meet together daily without the attention of a physician to care for them and to see that the taxpayers are getting a good return on the

money invested.— *Letter from Principal Hutchinson, Pocantico Hills.*

Reading the Health Index at School

Last year a mother, who is also a school commissioner, came to me after a public meeting where I contrasted interest in a handful of children within a private institution with interest in 700,000 children in the public schools and asked what she could do for her school children. I then prepared some questions which were later elaborated for the National Federation of Women's Clubs. I tried to make the next steps proposed such as could easily be taken by women or men wishing to be of immediate help in answering three questions: (1) What does the child bring to school? (2) With what kind of environment is the child surrounded? (3) What does the school do to the child? The questions and brief argument accompanying them may be secured by writing for *Efficient Citizenship No. 35*, Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City.

I have dealt at length with this question in *Civics and Health* which is used in teachers' reading circles of many states. An extended set of questions which can easily be answered by any mother or any woman's club, are given in *Health Index of Children* by Dr. Ernest Bryant Hoag, University of California.

Many indexes are in the child's face,— open mouth for mouth-breathing; strained or inflamed eyes; dirty, irregular and decayed teeth. To see that teachers know how to read this index, that phy-

sicians are employed for reading the obscurer signs, and that nurses are employed to interest mothers, by instructing them, in removing the physical defects, will do more for your city or town than tens of thousands in private benefactions.

Nine out of ten children need attention to teeth not now given. Your dentists will coöperate in making examinations to start school tests. Everywhere dental clinics are needed. To achieve clean teeth for a nation's children would bring greater reforms even in politics than votes for women.

Play at School

Is there sufficient play space around all of your school buildings, or are you trying to compensate for lack of play space at school by "playground movement"?

It is unwise use of the enthusiasm for play which stirs up a community to demand a playground in some congested area and then permits it, without protest, to erect ten or fifty school buildings on sites where there will be no play space.

The objection is sometimes made to play space around school buildings that noise on school grounds in school time distracts pupils. There is no reason, however, why this should prove more distracting than street railways or wagons or other noises, or being without play space and having to go blocks and blocks for play. It is better to have noisy grounds than noisome air for want of ventilation that comes only from free space near school buildings. Any-

way, noise on school grounds in school time *reflects on the discipline not on the play space.*

The point to keep in mind is, the place for play space is *where children are* and not some place *which children must go to.* No indoor play space or roof garden can possibly take the place of out of door play space, however useful on stormy days and however commendable where it is impossible or not feasible to buy land around a school building.

The spirit of play is as important as play space. Any school whose discipline is such that children would rather get away from it than stay to play needs the attention of women's clubs.

The School Census

Is an annual census taken of children who ought to be in your public schools, or elsewhere at school?

Is there a permanent record kept of their names?

Are the names on long sheets or on individual cards?

Does your woman's club study this census?

How much state money do your schools lose because children of school age are either not registered or not regular in attendance?

Do you realize that a child has the right to be found and counted and placed in school, as well as the right to go to school?

A curious form of graft was found recently in Philadelphia where, *in exchange for votes by parents at election time,* attendance officers allowed children to go to work or to remain out of school contrary to law.

New York City now has a permanent census bureau with headquarters at the department of education.

The permanent census, properly analyzed, will always tell where sites are needed, where more rooms are needed and where the attendance officers are doing their duty.

The school population figures that have heretofore been printed are useless, first because different states have different maximum and minimum age limits and, second, because the important age groups are not shown. When your census is taken, have each child's age put on his card, then total the number of children for each age and you can give the number of kindergarten age, 4 to 5; the number who *may* go to school and who perhaps should be in school, 6 to 7; the number who *must* be at school, 8 to 13; the number who *will do well to remain* in school, 14 to 15; and the number who *will do as well outside as inside* unless they are ready to go up to high school, 16–17 and 18–20.

Watching Effective School Attendance

The ballot will not stop irregular attendance.

If a man goes without food for three days and has three meals a day for four days he averages for the week nearly two meals a day. What satisfaction would that average be to a man confronting three days without any meals?

If nine boys go to school 200 days each and one boy goes to school 10 days, the average attendance for the 10 boys is 181 days. Yet this average fails

to state the important fact that nine of these boys did not miss a day at school while one got no benefit whatever from going to school. In New York City's evening high schools 60,000 of 110,000 pupils in 1910 attended less than 60 evenings. In the elementary schools 12,000 of 77,000 or nearly one-sixth *attended for less than one week.* For day schools no record is kept, such as many smaller cities require.

How many days children attend is the test of effective attendance. Records should show those who go less than 10 days, those who go from 11 to 20 days, from 21 to 40 days, from 41 to 60 days and so on up to 200 days.

In tabulating the attendance of children in a particular school it would be worth while to count half days because half day absences seriously interfere with the progress not only of the absentee but of his class mates.

Watching Non-Promotion and "Acceleration"

The ballot does not learn causes of non-promotion.

Did you ever fail of promotion in school?

Were you ever "flunked" at college?

Do you know how many children in your public schools were not promoted last year?

Have you ever computed what it costs your city each year to give children the same work a second time?

Do you see the tragedy of losing six months or a year by being held back unnecessarily?

Do you see how a non-promoted child may interfere with the progress of a fellow-pupil doing work for the first time?

It is quite manifest that more pupils should be promoted each term than are promoted at present and that more should be done than is now done for the not-promoted. While this was written of 110,000 New York children who failed January 31st, 1910, and of 94,000 who failed June 30th, 1910 (after 51,000 in addition to graduates had dropped out of school entirely), it applies just as truly to most small towns as to large cities.

A study made by the Bureau of Municipal Research shows that in 130 cities children not promoted number from 4% to 17%. Until recently it has been taken for granted that unless 20% failed the school standard must be too low. Wherever laymen or school men have investigated non-promotions, however, they have reached three conclusions:

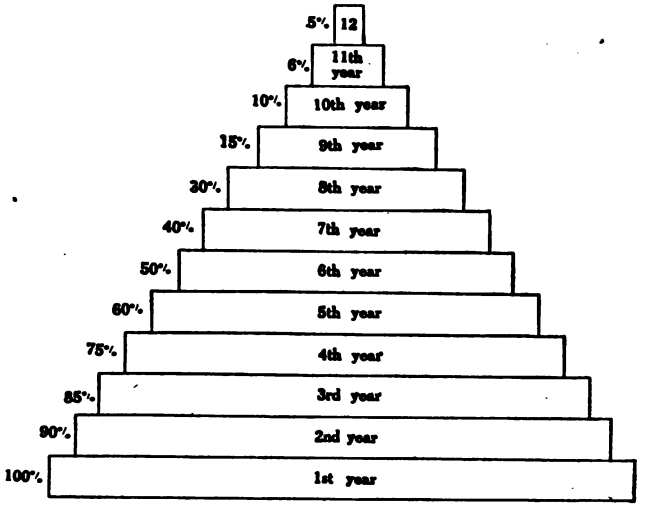
(1) Many children drop out before promotion time and do not appear in non-promotion figures;

(2) Many children are held back who ought to go forward;

(3) Many other children who go forward would do better if held back, in fact there are those who insist that acceleration is doing as much harm in large city schools as is retardation.

Do not confuse the two ideas of non-promotion and retardation. Retardation suggests an abnormal child or children subject to abnormal conditions who are behind their proper grade in school. Non-promotion relates to children who, at a particular time supposedly in their proper grade, fail to complete the work of that grade.

In 1891 Dr. Emerson E. White, then of Cincinnati, Ohio, made a study of promotions in 70 cities. He called attention then both to non-promotion mortality and to dropping out mortality as shown in the accompanying diagram:



SCHOOL MORTALITY AND SCHOOL SURVIVAL
A table prepared in 1890 to show how few children in Cleveland's (O.) schools advanced to upper grades

This study was published by the United States Bureau of Education and was reviewed in the *Educational Review* by the present city superintendent of schools for New York, who was then in Brooklyn.

Since this study was called to the attention of the educational world over 100,000,000 non-promotions have been recorded in our public schools. Yet not until 1911, twenty years after, did New York City

begin to ask, "Which, where, how many, why do children fail?" Can you see how we might have saved twenty years?

Thirteen reasons for retardation were given in 1910 by eight committees of New York principals without attempt, however, to state them in order of importance and as the result of comparing general impressions without counting and classifying individual cases:

Irregular attendance; truancy; ignorance of English; late entrance; transfer from school to school; physical defects; sluggish mentality; excessive size of classes; part time.

Prolonged or Frequent Absences of Teachers, during which their classes are taught by substitutes who are sometimes indifferent and sometimes inefficient

Varying Standards of Rating Pupils — Some principals and teachers adopt too high a standard; some too low a standard

Inefficient Teaching, due to teachers' talking and doing too much for their pupils; lack of thoroughness; obsolete aims and methods in teaching on the part of some of the older teachers; occasional lack of the power of discipline; neglect of opportunity afforded by the study period to teach children how to study

Improper Methods of Promotion, due to unnecessarily holding back pupils; not making promotions with sufficient frequency; and to differing standards of promotion

Of these reasons note that the four last named are entirely within the control of the superintendent regardless of conditions outside the school.

For the most adequate short statement of methods used by progressive superintendents to base both promotion and non-promotion on the individual child's capacity to go forward, write for *Efficient Citizenship No. 416*, Bureau of Municipal Research.

If you will both chart the non-promotions and compute what they cost, you will certainly find many ways of being of service to your schools. To test effort made by your superintendent and principals ask them:

If the same standards of promotion are used by all teachers

If pupils are promoted for their ability to do the advanced work or for their proficiency in work past

If principals see pupils before marking them for non-promotions

If principals require from teachers written explanations before children may be held back

If the superintendent reads these explanations

If inefficiency of teaching is included among the causes of non-promotion

If there are special " catch up " classes for children in danger of failing

If in the absence of such classes special attention is given to pupils in danger of failing

If there is reason to believe that many teachers promote children who ought to be held back

If children's failure is due in part to a curriculum which requires the impossible of both teacher and child

If as in New York in 1911 the superintendent refuses to ask questions for fear teachers and principals will not tell the truth

School Mortality

The ballot will not keep children in school.

In New York City 51,000 children dropped out in 1910 between September and June, in addition to those who graduated in February. In many cities teachers must learn and must make written explanations of the reasons why each child drops out whether from sickness, leaving town, going to work, indifference, etc.

In watching for school mortality be sure that the regular monthly reports not only compare this January with last January but this January with last December, last November and last September. This January is always going to be larger than last January, and unless you are very careful this January will always be smaller than the preceding December and November.

Much of school mortality is in the fourth and fifth grades. There is also a very quick drop in the first year of high school.

In your own schools you will probably be surprised at the number of children who do not go to school enough either to make it worth their while or to earn your state's per capita grant.

Self-Government by School Children

There is a National Society for Promoting Pupil Self-Government which sends out literature from 2 Wall Street, New York City.

Pupil self-government for primary and secondary grades is urged:

1. For its moral effect on the pupils
2. For its aid to school discipline
3. For its improvement in the attitude of teacher to pupil
4. For its success in fitting children for citizenship
5. For its success in developing leaders and emphasizing the elements of efficient leadership and followership

Students in many colleges are now under an honor system in class room tests which is extending to student government in other matters. For information, address Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., and Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

A woman principal, who for twelve years has used the home and help idea as distinct from the military and punishment idea, maintains that pupils govern themselves best if adults set the penalty because "children are frightfully harsh in their judgments." This reminded me of my first attempt to introduce pupil self-government in a Minnesota school after a visit to the state reform school at St. Cloud. Two of the steadiest pupils came at the end of a fortnight's test and asked me to take charge again on the ground that they found themselves wanting to do wrong or unnecessary things they had never thought of before. Two months later I tried again successfully with two military companies, which contested for first place in the honor roll. Merits were

awarded for punctuality, attendance, deportment, proficiency in studies, etc. On the first day when the village incorrigible got through the whole day with no demerit, the captain of the opposing company jumped to his feet and said his company would be glad to award fifty merits to the other company in honor of Willie R.'s achievement.

What form of discipline rules your schools?
Has pupil self-government been tried?
To what is its failure or weakness due?
Which of the five above-mentioned aims predominates?
Who likes or dislikes it most,— teacher, principal or pupil?
Would your teachers like the woman's club to secure information about the School City and other forms of pupil self-government?

The School Course

There is nothing sacred about eight years for the elementary and four years for the high school course. Yet for decades school men have been bowing to that tradition.

The New York state commissioner of education, Albany, has recommended an elementary course of six years. You would do well to write for his reasons for believing that we now waste two years.

For results of an experiment with 150 boys in shortening the school course while increasing its practical benefits, write to the New York Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society.

Write to the United States commissioner of edu-

cation at Washington and your state superintendent for the pros and cons of the present earnest discussion as to shortening the school course.

The School Curriculum

Have you ever noticed how sensitive school people are about their curriculum until after they have changed it, and then how anxious they are for you to believe that the new curriculum is perfect?

Radical modifications are being demanded by school journals and school meetings everywhere and are being made in many cities and states,— Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Massachusetts. Ask your state superintendent and the United States commissioner for the latest information. If your town is now content with its curriculum the probability is that there is something wrong with the curriculum.

Until the curriculum is simplified advanced school men will reiterate one educator's complaint:

> By analyzing school courses and by tracing the influences that establish them and now maintain them we see that our schools are not patriotic institutions nor public servants, nor workers for any civic purpose, but mere purveyors of courses of study and adherents of a system. . . .

Do not believe for one minute that vocational schools, trade schools and industrial schools are cures for confused curriculum, extra long courses or inefficient teaching.

More disappointing than disserviceable subjects in school are slovenly taught serviceable subjects. There is nothing less cultural than slovenly acquired smattering of so-called "culture subjects." Women can contribute to solving problems of the school curriculum by asking questions which bear upon the efficiency of individual teachers and the success of individual pupils. They can see that "genius as well as mediocrity will have a chance." They can see that country children are taught what country children need, not what city schools teach.

Women can see that the utmost freedom of expression is permitted teachers so that defects of curriculum may be pointed out. They can see that every city superintendent has the results of the 1911 inquiries into school efficiency for Baltimore, Cleveland, Montclair, New York City and St. Louis.

Choosing and Promoting Teachers

Voting will not choose efficient teachers.

Are your teachers chosen for merit alone?

Are they promoted for merit alone?

Does merit depend more on passing marks in examinations than on experience?

What shall be the tests of experience?

Shall salary increases be dependent upon efficient work during a promotion period?

Shall the superintendent, board of education or independent board of examiners choose teachers? Or shall a state board accredit teachers for any part of the state?

Is it practicable to apply efficiency tests to teachers throughout the year?

"Scoring" Teachers for Efficiency

In working out some tests for teachers in connection with New York City's salary revision inquiry I was amazed to have the question suggested, "Does she yell?" But several principals insisted upon retaining what they declared was one of the most important tests.

In the High School of Commerce, New York, Dr. J. J. Sheppard, the principal, gets a rating on each teacher with respect to thirty odd points under eight general heads: teaching ability; scholarship; conduct of recitations; effort; initiative; personality; control of class; departmental work.

For state-set tests write to Indiana's superintendent, Indianapolis.

What Should School Boards Know?

Being named on a school board does not increase one's knowledge. It may not increase one's interest. Why should it increase one's pretenses or one's willingness to talk learnedly about education?

What school boards should know has been touched upon in many other paragraphs. First of all they should know about their own efficiency.

In 1910 the local school boards of Manhattan were called together by Borough President McAneny. Several conferences were held. The central committee is now working out a standard set of questions which board members should answer.

Members of local school boards in Manhattan write

that one or more note the following when they visit schools:

> Sanitation; janitor's work; cleanliness of buildings; yards; toilets; cellars; lighting; heating; ventilation; fire drills; fire escapes; morning assemblies; attendance; methods of teaching; promptness; discipline; special classes for defectives; examination of records; repairs; medical examination of children; arrangement of lunch rooms; crowded or unfilled classrooms; care of outside yards; playgrounds; social use of buildings.

School commissioners cannot see enough pupils in a week or enough teachers enough of the time to reach a sound judgment regarding school conditions. They should receive current reports at least once a month about what is happening in the schools which indicate clearly what matters need their attention. They should know the what, how, which and why for every request for funds.

School boards throughout the country are beginning to want to know how efficient their schools are. A new profession is opening up to school analysts able to go from town to town making the kind of report upon school efficiency which the business doctor makes upon the management of railroads, factories or hotels. For information address National Training School, Bureau of Municipal Research, New York.

It is no discredit to find room for improvement.

It is discreditable to lack curiosity as to need for improvement or to resent evidence of such need.

Publicity of School Facts

The ballot cannot write school stories.

Do your newspapers like to tell about your public schools?

Do they treat school problems as well as school parties and games?

Is there a special school page such as the *New York Globe* prints daily?

Is there a daily school column or weekly page such as the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the *New York Evening Post* print?

What subjects interest more people in your community than your public schools?

Do the schools make it easy for newspapers to get school stories?

Are there photographic illustrations of school work which can be used by newspapers?

Does your superintendent hold all of the interesting matter for his annual report, thus making it impossible for newspapers to use more than a brief abstract?

Are monthly statements of attendance and dropping out given to the papers?

If editors find it easy to get school news they will publish it. Parents are glad to read in the daily paper of their children's school environment.

The only reason that so many stories about education are critical and superficial is that school men have not made it easy to discover the fundamentals of school problems.

The public is entitled to knowledge. The newspapers will print it. The only thing to defeat publicity of school facts will be desire on the part of school men themselves to conceal part of the facts, to advertise themselves or to make newspapers and magazines do all the work.

A Symposium on School Reports

The superintendents and principals of Central Pennsylvania in March, 1911, gave two days to school records and reports. The clear and public spirited aim of this conference is shown in the first two of thirteen topics:

I. *Need and importance of records:* (1) To make a full and accurate report to the board and the community, the state school department, and the federal bureau of education (2) To furnish a basis of comparison so that progress may be tested (3) To prevent waste and fraud (4) To present statistics of education or other social phenomena (5) To furnish information to administrative staff of schools (6) To give publicity to school affairs (7) To advertise the needs of the schools (8) To secure to a greater extent the efficiency of the schools (9) *To test the superintendent's efficiency and the soundness of his methods*

II. *Features of good records:* (1) They must give terms, and definitions of terms (2) They must be accurate (3) They must be intelligible to the lay reader (4) They must be complete (5) They must be about essential matters (6) They must permit of being quickly and easily

made (7) They must secure certain results automatically (8) They must permit of being presented graphically at times (9) They must be cumulative in case of records of pupils

Civic Instruction Through Public Schools

The ballot cannot give civic instruction.

The public school is just as potent for civic miseducation as for civic education; an unclean school atmosphere is not only a nonconductor of clean air precept, but an active conductor of disease and enervation.

No system of moral instruction in schools can ever offset the anti-moral conduct of those schools which neglect the health of school children and school teachers, waste teacher's time, child's opportunity and taxpayer's money, or set a bad example to other public agencies by claiming immunity for mistakes and exemption from criticism.

The educational influence of the school, like that of the individual whom it wishes to prepare for citizenship, is to be measured by what it does and gets done, rather than by what it says and hopes.

To test the school's work for civic betterment, one must learn the result of three distinct kinds of civic education which it is under obligation to give:

(1) Training of individuals, (2) training of voluntary groups for efficient team work in promoting public welfare, and (3) training of individuals and groups to procure proper official action in promoting public welfare.

The following first steps are suggested to local schools wishing to increase their power for civic education:

1. Ask for a state law on medical examination of all children, teachers, janitors, buildings and grounds in all school districts, *public, parochial, private, rural and urban*
2. Teach personal hygiene by relating it to community hygiene
3. Keep your communities continuously informed in regard to health needs indexed at school
4. Realize that every parent interested adds a teacher to your staff
5. Give your newspapers school stories and thus add 25% to the efficiency of your teaching staff
6. Make private agencies supplement school work, instead of supplementing their work
7. Make your schools the center of social settlement work and uplift work in your communities
8. Recognize that it is just as educational to interest the board of education and the voluntary visiting committee as to instruct a child
9. Provide for civic and health work by your school organizations
10. Take advantage of budget season to tell 100% of school and health needs and to interest 100% of your community in that story
11. Welcome complaints and questions as opportunities for civic education
12. Make more demands upon your state department of education and give it better support
13. Write your congressmen and senators to give the United States bureau of education enough work and enough money
14. Coöperate with the National Education As-

sociation's special committee on uniform and adequate records and reports

State Departments of Education

The commissioner of education in Massachusetts has a faculty of 11,000 teachers and a registry of 575,000 pupils, or twelve times as many teachers and seventy-five times as many pupils as Harvard University, Williams, Smith and Wellesley Colleges combined. Yet so perverse is our thinking about public service that it is still considered a greater distinction to be president of a college with 30 teachers and 300 students than to be head of a state school system.

Compare, please, the significance of your state superintendent's work, his mail, his weekly contact, the problems he must face, the spending which he must influence, the lives for whose shaping he is largely responsible, with the work of the greatest minister you know or the greatest college president or even the governor of your state.

Try then to understand why it is that you have given so little thought in the past to the office of state supervisor of education.

What is his salary?
What is his term of office?
Is he elected or is he appointed?
Do educators look up to him?
Does he need and deserve your support?
What does his office cost each year?
How many assistants has he?
How many assistants ought he to have?

What annual budget ought he to have?
Do you agree with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching that such places "should be of such dignity and security as to attract the best men"?

If the state superintendent's reports are not interesting they can be and should be. If he fails to show how the schools of your town or county are doing, he can be interested in giving this information. For he should not only report these facts to you with similar facts for nearby cities or other cities of the same size, but he should make it necessary for your city superintendent to give you the facts also with schools of a kind *ranked* with respect to principal tests.

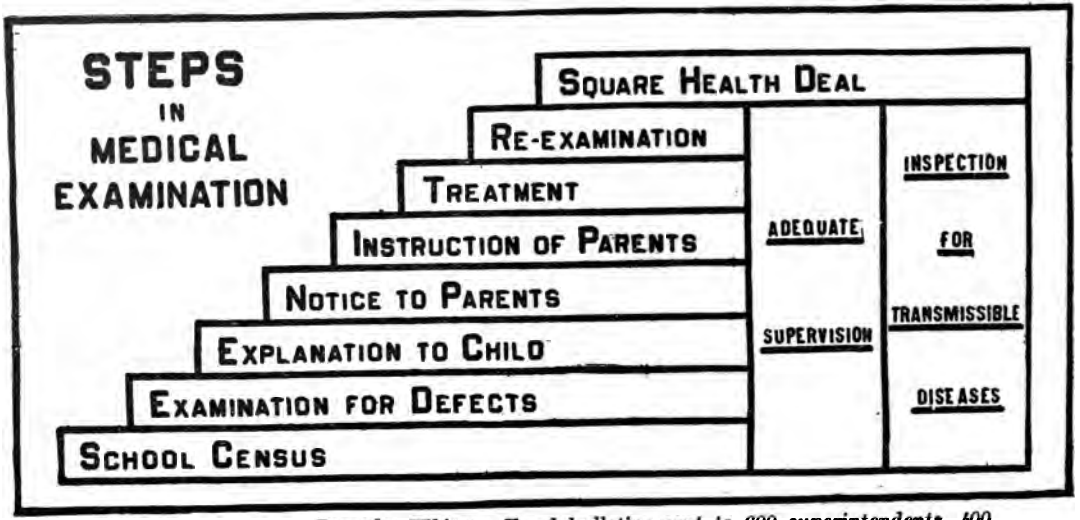
A new era is at hand for state departments of education. When Professor David S. Snedden left Teachers' College to become commissioner of education in Massachusetts, many leading educators declared he was going to a greater educational post than any college in the country. State superintendents are beginning to recognize that they are forces to be reckoned with not only in directing public schools, but in shaping public sentiment respecting schools and government. Their terms should be at least six years, they should be appointed not elected, and chosen for educational efficiency not good looks, eloquence or party connections.

There is a growing general demand among secondary elementary schools for "freedom from college domination." The conferences of the state superin-

tendents called by United States Commissioner Elmer E. Brown have been an important factor in emphasizing the right of elementary and secondary schools to comparison first with their own task of fitting boys and girls for citizenship.

Write to the United States bureau of education, Washington, for reports of these conferences and to your state superintendent for his part in these conferences and his programme for the development of his office. Perhaps the Carnegie Foundation would send you, or at least to your public library, its fifth annual report containing the latest word on "the relations of colleges and secondary schools."

CIVIC EDUCATION THROUGH THE SCHOOL.



(*Back: One of 400 Dorothy Whitney Fund bulletins sent to 600 superintendents, 400 mayors and comptrollers, 400 editors.*)

MAKING KNOWN EVERYWHERE WHAT IS NECESSARY EVERYWHERE
Bureau of Municipal Research, 261 Broadway
Efficient Citizenship, 412

XI

WHERE "POLICE GRAFT" LURKS OR FLAUNTS

Tests of Public Decency

Yes	*No*	
		Is there open gambling in your city?
		Does vice flaunt itself in public places?
		Is the alliance of vice and police notorious?
		Are drunken men and women permitted on the streets?
		Are streets chronically unclean?
		Is spitting in public permitted?
		Is it considered respectable for men to leer at women?
		Is rowdyism or quarreling tolerated?
		Are under age children permitted to sell papers or other articles, to go into saloons, or to go to and from factory toil?
		Are officials and employés offensive in their dealings with the public?

If your answer to each of these questions is *no*, it does not follow that there is no vice or gambling or indecency in your city. It does show, however, that offences against public decency are "under control."

A high death rate of infants is really more indecent than open gambling houses, but as men and women are made there is little hope of successfully fighting against unnecessary infant sickness in any community that permits open gambling and flagrant vice.

Suburban communities tolerate offenses that are

censured and outlawed in large communities. One reason is that evil does not seem so great when stated in smaller numbers. Another reason is that women or men who object to nuisances cannot so easily conceal their identity in small towns as in large cities. For the same reason, of course, the offenders cannot conceal their identity, and will desist if sustained publicity is given their offenses.

Voting does not insure decency.

Are You Ashamed of Your Public Corrections?

There is a lot more in names than Juliet thought.

When we talked of *jails* the main purpose of our public corrections was to keep dangerous criminals locked up to punish them and to protect society. *Penitentiary* was a step beyond *jail* because it implied that people doing penance would finally get sorry enough to avoid a repetition.

Corrections is quite modern and implies an obligation on the part of society not to punish, not to encourage the penitent, not to protect society for the period of sentence, but to bring about a *change in the persons sentenced*, which will correct them, their attitude, their sense of responsibility and their conduct. Thus while we have a prison congress, we are now establishing everywhere departments of correction, state boards of charities and correction, national conferences of correction, etc. For children we are substituting *industrial* school for reform school.

To study the criminal or offender is not very profitable for most of us because we do not know

enough about human pyschology to understand individual offenders. Any woman can, however, learn what is being done in her name to and for offenders by the public corrections of her community.

Is character broken down by idleness, by unsanitary conditions, by brutal treatment, by careless discipline?

Are penniless men sent out from correctional institutions to earn their living, not only without references but without friendly interest?

Is your method of doing general public business, buying goods, leasing property, issuing licenses, such that you are encouraging those inside and outside of government to take chances and to commit offenses?

Are those in charge of prisons, penitentiaries and reformatories trying to hold down good political jobs or to help society and to correct offenses?

If, as is so often the case, mistaken leniency or corrupt leniency causes judges to pardon young women or to send them back to their old environment under probation instead of sending them to a reformatory presided over by a refined woman able to study them and to give them new strength and habits, women's clubs can make the truth so generally known that either such magistrate will change his habits or the town will change its magistrate.

What is Your Part in Public Corrections?

Procedure in treating crime is reflected in the newspaper discussion of crime and in the most insidious way affects the standard of every adolescent.

To an extent that few mothers realize jails bring up their children. What is the effect on the growing generation when they read that a judge sentenced two men to two weeks each in a penitentiary *for bringing white slaves into the United States from Canada?* Where else but from the jails for which their mothers and fathers were responsible could the thirty boys and girls of a Junior Republic have gotten the idea that the erection of a jail with ten cells was a great achievement? When I asked the sheriff if the jail had been a success he replied: "Success, well I should think! *Why, a week ago last Saturday night the only fellows in the Republic who were not in that jail were the jailer and myself.*"

A gang of striped convicts on a southern highway debases the passers-by more than the convict. In the reaction against such debasement unconsciously millions of men and women have lately adopted a maudlin, sentimental point of view with regard to offenders which seriously interferes with protecting society against crime. How can anyone who honestly believes "there is no such thing as a bad boy" help blaming environment largely for badness in men and women?

The success of rich criminals in evading the law weakens the moral sense of all who know of it and deadens the sensibilities of those who commit petty instead of major offenses. A check to public revulsion in favor of the criminal was recently given by President Taft when he refused to release from a sentence of imprisonment a rich man convicted under the law against peonage.

It is worth while to have singing services in jails and prisons. It is far more important, however, to have clean jails and prisons, to be sure that nobody goes there who ought not to go there and to be sure that those who leave go to a chance to live an honest life.

Does Justice do Injustice?

Ballots do not administer justice.

My first personal acquaintance with women's clubs was at a meeting of a mothers' congress in New Jersey. I told them I was pleased to know there were mothers in New Jersey because I had been visiting a number of jails which had conditions that should have been impossible with mothers near.

For example, within a stone's throw of the president of the state federation of women's clubs a little girl ten years old, was found sitting on the lap of a prostitute in a cell with two women on trial for murder and several dissolute women.

At another jail within a stone's throw of a state W.C.T.U. meeting, I found a woman in evening

clothes who had been in this jail attended by male attendants for ten weeks. She was held as a witness against three men alleged to have drugged her and left her by the road side. Nobody was trying to find these men.

A citizen wishing to photograph some private encroachments on public property was attacked by the encroachers, kicked, made unconscious, and later carried to a hospital by a policeman. Another policeman, after calling the ambulance, arrested the offending parties. When the case came to trial, the offenders, backed by political influence, testified that the citizen had attacked them with his camera. The police officer testified to the same result. The judge was indignant and asked, "Why then did you, an eye witness to this assault, arrest the wrong man?"

Justice does injustice when innocent parties are persuaded to plead guilty by a prosecuting attorney or a policeman who promises "to get them off easy" if they in turn will help swell the efficiency record of prosecuting officers. In one morning I heard two men answer charges in court as follows: "Guilty, Your Honor, but I don't know anything about it," and "Guilty, Your Honor, but I was not there."

Fear that society has been administering its justice in an unjust way has lately stimulated a sentimental interest in offenders against society. It is to-day easier to raise money for a work connected with public jails and prisons than for work con-

nected with the public schools. The danger of this sentimental justice is treated elsewhere. It is important to be sure that the way in which we befriend a criminal does not encourage crime and inflict injustice upon those who are not offenders against the law.

Every city, county and state should have an organization whose business it is to know whether justice does injustice. Inspection should go beyond places of confinement to the way in which police departments are managed and particularly to the way in which police magistrates bring out the facts before pronouncing judgment.

What society does to the burglar is generally worse than what the burglar does to society. We can probably never arrange things so that somebody will not be tempted to burglarize, but we certainly can make sure that what we do to the burglar is for society's benefit and his benefit and not for the injury of either.

Conditions can be sanitary. The bed and food can be clean. We can give prisoners profitable work instead of supporting them in idleness. We can prevent gambling and the use of liquor. We can prevent discrimination between those who have money or friends with money and those who have not. We can make conditions stimulate rather than stifle self-respect.

Several Kinds of Probation

Ballots do not supervise probation.

Probation for offenders against the law is not new. The new thing is *probation with supervision.*

The new probation starts with the assumption that by violating the law the offender places himself in the class of suspects. The burden of proof is on him. He cannot be trusted until he has proved himself trustworthy. He is not less dangerous because he is able to pay a fine. We say to him, therefore: "We permit you to go freely among other people with the understanding that during the next six months or two years you *keep giving us evidence* not merely that you are not repeating your offense, but are living and working as you ought."

Putting a man on probation is not probation. Having a man go to the probation officer once a month is not supervision. The probation officer should know where the probationer is, what he does, what his employer thinks of him. Getting adults and children back into the current of normal living is the only probation worth while.

Probation is a fruitful means of corruption when not periodically tested. It is a bother to the probationer to be looked up by some officer or to go to the officer once a month. No one likes to feel that his freedom of action is restricted. Still probation is very much more comfortable than the penitentiary. Therefore, those who have the money, or can raise the money, are willing to pay something to keep out of

jail and to get under probation without the trouble of being interfered with or worried by questions.

Every court that has to do with criminals should employ the principle of *probation under supervision* and should absolutely give up *probation without supervision.*

Where there are many convictions the probation officer will save the county in jail bills and in fines paid by installments, much more than he will cost.

In trying to get a probation officer appointed, compute the money saved first. Then having removed the money objections you can overwhelm opposition by having all the moral arguments on your side.

Probation should not mean extenuation or maudlin denial of the existence of a willingness in many of us to violate the law as a means of getting something the law forbids.

An ex-convict who had spent fifteen years in various prisons once came to my office to secure a loan. While talking he noticed the book, *Crime and Social Progress* by Arthur Cleveland Hall, which argues that social progress inevitably increases the number of possible offenses against society. He asked me if he might read the book, which he took home and annotated by way of an autobiography which was "strong" for environment and against criminal tendencies as a cause of crime. I was interested in him and told his story to a wholesale woolen merchant who replied: "Well, I suppose the point of this is, you would like me to give this man employment in

my business." I said "Yes." He answered: "Well if it is all the same to you I'd rather support him on the outside rather than on the inside of my store." Later events proved the wisdom of his conclusion.

The point is this: It is not honest to overlook the fact that in the very process of developing men of different talents and varied interests we are also producing varied opportunities to benefit from our neighbor's carelessness or inferiority. With each opportunity will grow next year as there grew five thousand years ago the instinct to take advantage of that opportunity. Of those who to-day are sincere in their regard for their neighbor's rights, many will to-morrow take advantage of their neighbor's weaknesses.

Inefficient probation can be a school for crime as well as an inefficiently managed jail. Once when trying to promote probation work as a substitute for county jails I found a seventeen-year-old girl in a jail among a lot of women who, at the time of my visit, were drinking liquor and smoking cigarettes. There was a woman she could live with if she got out and she would be glad to get out under probation. I went at once to the county probation officer, visited the mayor who had committed her and the woman who was willing to give her shelter. If the incident had stopped there I would have been able to tell one of the stories such as characterize much of our literature about probation and crime. A few days after, however, the mayor wrote me that he had investigated

this home to which I had wanted the girl sent and found that it was a house of assignation!

Has your state a law permitting or compelling the criminal courts to use probation officers?
Have the courts appointed such probation officers?
Are the probation officers salaried or volunteers?
Are records used so as to show whether probation is helping society and the probationer?
Does the judge probate without fines or plus fines?
Does he permit the payment of fines by installments?
Are the probation officers appointed for their ability to do probation work or for political influence?
Is the basis of probation work emotion or fact?
Do the judges use the probation officers to help them bring out the facts during the trial or merely after sentence?
How much has probation decreased the total number of sentences to county jails or penitentiaries?
By how much have the total fines collected either increased or decreased?
Do you see why no system of volunteer Big Brothers or Big Sisters can take the place of efficient brothering and sistering by teacher, attendance officer, judge and probation officer?

The Children's Court

Ballots do not mismanage children's courts.

Every court that applies the criminal law should have special provision for hearing why children have been arrested and for considering what should be done.

If there is not business enough to warrant a special court for children there should be a special time for hearing children. The probation officer instead of being called in after the child is committed to his care, should be used by the court to find out facts about the child, his home and his temptations as a means of helping the court to help the child. Nothing can interfere more with the success of juvenile court work than the assumption by a judge that he can, in a few minutes, by questioning and frightening or flattering the child and his sensitive parents, learn enough about that child and his parents to make an intelligent decision regarding the necessary treatment.

Sometimes it pays to fine parents themselves. Some courts ask parents to "spank" children in court.

Some courts hold only private sessions with children, others talk privately at their desk in the court room before a large number who witness what are often distressing scenes.

No juvenile court can be a success which encourages the child to believe that it is somebody else's fault if he does under concealment what he has the intelligence not to do when people are looking.

While it is probably true that children under 16 do not fully comprehend the social significance of wrong steps any better than do most men and women of 60, an analysis of the charges made against children shows that in almost all cases the boys and girls knew they were doing something that would

cause trouble or serious annoyance or possible pain to one or more neighbors.

Interest in the juvenile court can never atone for neglecting the public school and its truancy work. It is one of the anomalies of so-called woman's work to-day that it has given vastly more attention to the small fraction of boys and girls who come into a juvenile court for punishment than to the 100% of boys and girls who need better school buildings, better opportunities for instruction, more opportunities for play, compulsory education laws, efficient attendance officers, etc.

If your state has no compulsory education law, please do not begin your interest in the juvenile delinquent by getting a juvenile court. Get the compulsory education law first and efficient attendance officers. Then get truant schools, such as No. 120 Manhattan, where boys are taken before they fall into the delinquent class, are studied individually and encouraged to do the things that nature qualifies them to do. Better still, get classes within a school or opportunities within a class where difficult children will be studied individually by teachers who understand boy "badness" as well as boy "goodness."

For latest information about juvenile court work, address *The Survey*.

Can Women Stop the Social Evil?

Ballots do not patronize the social evil.

Have you ever tried to understand why more women are interested in stopping the social evil than

in saving the lives of babies, promoting community health or bettering the work of public schools? How many of the people whom you have known to be interested in the social evil succeeded in being interested without becoming morbid?

If I could control the action of ministers and women's clubs I should say that for them the best possible means of reducing the social evil and sex diseases would be never to mention *sex diseases* and *social evil* for at least ten years. Less headway can be made against them by fighting them directly than by working for positive community benefits treated in other chapters.

Not until we recognize our partnership in the conditions that foster the social evil can we begin to improve those conditions.

After all sex is a small part of normal life. In fact, sex is a small part of the abnormal life. Even the prostitute is thinking of other things than sex the greater part of her life.

Those who try to discuss the social evil by talking of frightful sex diseases or of married women who go on the operating table and into chronic invalidism because of sex diseases, and of the alleged 80% of men who are diseased, forget apparently that these are as cogent reasons against getting married without adequate physical examination in advance, as against visiting brothels without similar adequate physical examination in advance.

No more sound is the talk that girls go into a life of shame only because some criminally-minded

man or men have abused their confidences. Little progress can be made against the social evil, and little help can be given girls who practice it, by those who refuse to recognize that there is just as much sex about women as about men, and that the average girl is just as wide-awake when she makes mistakes in regard to sex as is the average man.

No more hope is there in the fallacious argument that in the main poverty drives girls to a life of shame. There are stock stories told, for example, about department-store girls who, when they say to the superintendent that they cannot live on their wages, are advised to "get some help on the side." While working on this chapter I have been told of a department store in this city whose girls are afraid of one member of the firm. I am not acquainted with the man, but my reply was that I believe that such a man's girls are unsafe in direct proportion to the largeness not to the smallness of their salary. It would be truer to say that they are unsafe in direct proportion to their attractiveness, in which ability (and income) to dress and the habit (and income) of dressing play an important part.

If the schools are finally used for teaching sex hygiene, as has been tried in Baltimore, Chicago, Newark, Salt Lake City and the Normal College, New York City, it is probable:

(1) That sex health will be taught to mixed classes and throughout the grades

(2) That abnormal sex relations, irrespective of disease, will not be taught to mixed classes, but will

be taken up privately with girls as in the Normal College, New York City, and with boys as in many colleges by physical directors

(3) That sex diseases will be treated in the same course which takes up other transmissible diseases, such as typhoid, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, etc.

By talking *opportunity for normal sex relations and recreation* women can raise more money, get more people interested and protect more children than by talking *sex dangers.*

If Segregation of the Social Evil is Right, Is It Wrong to Oppose It?

Until the relation of social evil to police department is studied more extensively and scientifically than has ever been done in the past there will remain radical differences of opinion as to the morality or immorality of giving any legal sanction to houses of prostitution.

It is better, some say, to have any law violated than to permit government itself, by toleration or recognition, to become party to vice or crime.

It is better, others say, to keep within bounds evils which have heretofore defied police restrictions than by futile efforts at prohibition to give those evils a roving license.

Segregation of the social evil amounts to this as described by Mayor Brand Whitlock of Toledo, Ohio, in an open letter to a conference of clergymen:

> To promise or threaten to do away entirely with the social evil is to promise the impracti-

cable if not the impossible. With the people who live in Toledo and who come to Toledo, with the police officers whom I have, with the courts which must fine or imprison, I cannot hope, during my term of office, to abolish the social evil. If I conduct a so-called moral campaign against it I shall demoralize the police department, neglect other police work quite as important and send prostitutes into tenements, respectable districts and on the streets.

Therefore, I am going to try to do what others have done in other American cities, notably in the south, and segregate the social evil. No one can conduct a house of prostitution without registering at police headquarters the place, the name, the owner, the names of the proprietor and of all inmates. No places will be registered outside of a limited district, which will reduce the evil *to those particular individuals who seek it, whereas the other method constantly flaunts the evil in the faces of individuals who are not only without interest in vice, but actually endeavor to avoid it.*

No woman is permitted to go to such a house until she and certain essential facts regarding her have been recorded in the police registry. She may not change from one house to another without notice to the police. Any proprietor of a house who accepts an unregistered woman is driven out of business. No street walking or soliciting from windows will be permitted. Innocent girls who attempt to register are sent home to their parents or places of employment.

For the latest arraignment of any form of recognition, and for the most careful study of this ques-

tion to date, write for the report (392 pages) of the Vice-Commission of Chicago. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has sent 1,000 copies of it to normal school heads and city superintendents.

For the best short picture of the social evil at work and its ruthless methods in trapping innocent girls, you will do well to secure *Panders and Their White Slaves* by Clifford G. Rowe of Chicago, who, as former prosecuting attorney, cites not opinion, but one actual case after another from the court record of sworn testimony.

Are you familiar with the *Moral Education Series of Leaflets* published by the Chicago Society of Social Hygiene for the "education of men concerning transmissible diseases and the consequent protection of wives and children from venereal contamination"; or with the transactions of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, New York City?

Do you see the hopelessness of trying to deal efficiently with the social evil through a police department and magistrates who play politics, lack self-respect and fail to prevent other violations of the law?

Will Women Abolish the Saloon?

Not unless women do more than vote against it.

The saloon will at first divide the woman's vote:

By nominating more attractive candidates than the anti-saloon candidates

By injecting other important issues into every election where the saloon is an issue

By showing the vast community benefits that may be bought by license money

By convincing many that prohibition does not prohibit

By being more vigilant than the "anti-saloon crowd" and seeing to it that prohibition does not prohibit wherever and whenever tried

Prohibition against the saloon where efficiently and persistently tried has not shown a higher percentage of failure than prohibition against stealing or embezzlement of church funds. But in almost negligible instances has prohibition against the saloon been efficiently and persistently tried.

It is to the saloon's (or brewer's or distiller's or jobber's) pecuniary interest to make prohibition fail.

It is to the direct pecuniary interest of no organized force to make prohibition succeed although if it does succeed the drunkard's family, employer, fellow laborer, fellow taxpayer and storekeeper will benefit financially. This gain to the drunkard's families and their employers, fellow laborers, fellow taxpayers and storekeepers has been seldom worked out with sufficient definiteness to counteract the skepticism and complaint of the saloon's friends.

Your own community's pecuniary interest is more important than the nation's drink bill. So your own community's enforcement is more important than either Alabama's backsliding, or the theory of prohibition. Will you and your women friends do or get done the detail work necessary to learn and to let the community know its drink bill and its record of enforcement or non-enforcement?

Meet squarely — do not evade — the question: "What is the use if juries won't convict and courts won't punish?" To have courts and juries which do not act according to law and evidence is worse than having saloons. Go, therefore, at the courts and juries. Tell the truth about them not once or twice but everlastingly until they give in. Their wives and children will make them give in if they are wrong.

In a southern city I recently visited a "blind tiger" where apparently anybody was welcome. Before opening the door to let us in and out a colored porter pulled back a curtain and peeked out. We asked, "Are you looking for a policeman?" He replied, "No, 'deed, the police is lookin' for me." The trouble was the police were not looking for him, but should have been.

Challenge and disprove the claims that public sentiment wants saloons no matter how great a majority votes against them. Count noses. Advertise the count. In almost every instance you can prove that the *public sentiment* quoted by saloon friends in favor of violating laws against or restricting saloons is little more than *saloon dealer sentiment.*

It is doubtful if even the families accustomed to the so-called European Sunday would vote for open saloons on Sunday if any mayor and police commissioner would for six consecutive Sundays keep saloons closed.

One per cent. of the energy now given to election excitement would, if distributed throughout the year

in daily attention to facts showing enforcement or non-enforcement, work out a saloon policy which would be right, permanent and popular.

Results are justifying my forecast in *Civics and Health* that the South would abandon prohibition unless the friends of prohibition rivaled the enemies of prohibition in after-election work.

In Oregon, the home of the initiative and referendum, prohibition was defeated in 1910. The official pro and con hand book for voters, published by the state, contains the best short arguments for and against prohibition which the Oregon Anti-saloon League and the Greater Oregon Home Rule Association could formulate. Apply to Secretary of State, Salem, Oregon.

To discover the maximum strength, cleverness and respectability of the advocates of a restricted and decent saloon, write to the United States Brewers' Association, 109 East Fifteenth St., New York City.

For answers to definite questions and for pamphlets, etc., write to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Chicago.

Police Efficiency

Has your town a "police problem"?
Do your police side with order or with disorder?
Are they in politics?
Are they allied with vice and gambling?
Have you enough policemen?
Who is interested in their efficiency?
Are they allowed to be efficient?
Do you expect enough of them?

Large cities have almost despaired of what is called police reform. Prostitution and gambling flourish although it is now recognized that neither may safely be practiced in any organized way or so as to come to the attention of the public without the police knowing all about it and conniving with it.

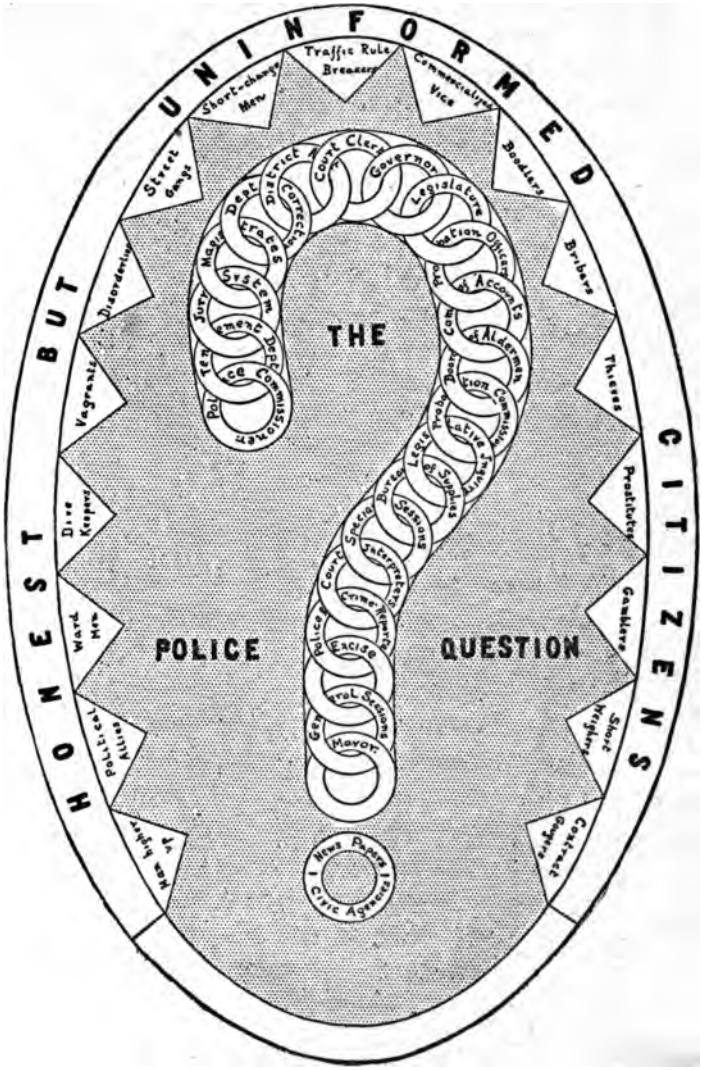
We have tried to root out police corruption, but have rarely, if ever, thought that there is any way of discovering police inefficiency.

Or again, we have been interested in what Europe does without trying to learn what is actually being done in our own cities.

Way down at the bottom there is so much Phariseeism about the discussion of other people's vices that most of us love to get excited over the problems of gambling and prostitution. The diagram on the opposite page shows the large number of different aspects from which the problem may be attacked. Anybody who attempts to understand the police problem by concentrating on any one or any five of the fifty relations there sketched is bound to fail.

Generally speaking we have given our police too little to do. When they might be getting streets and sidewalks cleaned, and fire escapes clear of obstructions, or obtaining information needed for city purposes, they are chatting together or idly gaping at the moon. Property owners who ought to feel responsible for securing efficiency in 100% of the work of police departments spend money instead on private watchmen.

Those who thrive on the demoralization of the


HONEST BUT UNINFORMED CITIZENS
THE POLICE QUESTION
Traffic Rule Breakers
Commercialized Vice
Boodlers
Bribers
Thieves
Prostitutes
Gamblers
Short Weighers
Contract Gorgers
Short-change Men
Street Gangs
Disorderlies
Vagrants
Dive Keepers
Ward Men
Political Allies
Man higher up
Court Clerk
Governor
Legislature
Officers
of Accounts
of Aldermen
Commission
Legislative Inquiry
Bureau of Supplies
Sessions
Interpreters
Crime Reports
Excise
Sessions
Mayor
Police Court
Special
Dept
District
Corrections
Magistrates
System
Jury
Tenement Dept
Police Commissioner
News Papers
Civic Agencies

police and allied departments have always been able "to make black look white," to make reform seem absurd, and to confuse the public mind by dividing "thoroughly informed citizens" into two opposing camps.

Political parties and personal enemies have taken advantage of this confusion. The public, instead of equipping itself to understand the police problem and the inner workings of the "police system" and allied departments, have been stampeded like sheep and induced to take sides for or against some mayor or some police commissioner or some more or less practical scheme for attacking the few forms of crime and vice that make money when most flagrant.

Instead of systematically and currently obtaining information that would give the approximate truth about 100% of the workings of the police and allied departments, *reformers* and officials, like those wishing to discredit *reform*, have made sharpshooting excursions into this or that district and skyrocket attacks upon this or that evil, while leaving the public substantially in ignorance as to what was done or left undone for protecting itself.

No one knows the futility of this method better than the promoters of organized crime and vice.

Any town and any officials that have adopted the idea of auditing bills, payrolls and mortality statistics can also see the advantage of auditing police and court and probation records of time spent, work done, failures and inefficiencies, complaints not at-

tended to, offenders not arrested, persons arrested without enough evidence to hold them, etc.

Some people seem to think that you cannot keep track of policemen's work because crime is always breaking out where you least expect it. But the mayor's business as executive is not with the offender but with the public officers paid to prevent offenses and to detect and arrest offenders on evidence. It is just as easy to keep track of a policeman and to apply a test to his work as it is to keep track of water-meter readers or inspectors of school supplies.

When the public stops thinking that efficient management of the police department requires some occult powers, the police department will cease to be a perennial illustration of administrative weakness.

When the public stops thinking it is hard, officials will stop thinking it is hard.

It is also probably true that when officials and newspapers stop saying it is almost impossibly hard, the public will see that it is practicable, if not exactly easy.

When the public begins to think that it can know enough about police work to test its efficiency any mayor will be supported in demanding knowledge heretofore lacking.

Like most of life's heroics, the policeman's *star playing* is against a background of innumerable definite, measurable, timeable acts.

Because nobody heretofore has paid any attention to the little things of police management, the big

things have, with few intermissions, created continuous dismay and scandal.

A Much Needed Study Which Women Might Finance

Women could afford to wait a good many years before concentrating on police mismanagement, gambling or the social evil. In no community will the men tolerate gambling and flagrant vice after they have once become thoroughly interested in such questions as playgrounds, tenement protection, lower infant mortality, clean milk and efficient schools. Therefore, the best thing that a woman or woman's organization can do as to the police question is to ask the chamber of commerce or the strongest combination of men to stop talking about small fractions of police work and to make a study of 100% of the work that the police ought to do.

The purpose of this study should be to see whether it is easier for the individual policeman to be inefficient than efficient because of the department's method of conducting its business, its purchases, its repairs, discipline, examination of candidates and presentation of evidence in court.

Because there are so many women who have the money necessary to finance such a study in their own community, I am repeating here a plan submitted by the Bureau of Municipal Research first to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as foreman of the "White Slave Grand Jury," and later to Mayor Gaynor.

Agencies for Enforcing the Law Which Have Never Yet Been Adequately Studied and Never Currently Tested

1. Police department — headquarters, precincts and representatives in the magistrates' courts

2. Each magistrate's court

3. The magistrates of all divisions sitting as boards of magistrates

4. Department of correction, with particular regard to cases coming from the magistrates' courts and discharged at order of magistrates' courts

5. Reformatory institutions which receive cases from, and discharge cases at the orders of, magistrates' courts

6. Jury system, method of impaneling, excusing, etc.

7. Special sessions

8. General sessions

9. Night court

10. Excise department

11. Tenement house department inspection of tenements used for disorderly purposes

12. Commissioner of licenses, with respect to his power over employment agencies tempted to cater to disorderly houses

13. District attorney's office

14. State and national agencies sharing responsibility for admission of immigrants, enforcement of law, etc.

It will be noticed that this study concerns itself *not with the nature of vice and crime, but with the public's equipment for preventing, detecting, and punishing vice and crime.*

A Few Indexes to Police Efficiency

Earmarks of lax administration —

Analysis of work supposed to be done
Work now known to be done
Difference between expectation and work known to be done
Distribution of powers and duties

Distribution of police force, uniformed, clerical, plain clothes —

By class of work
By district
By "soft snaps"
By personal preference of policeman or "outside"

Methods of fixing responsibility —

For complaints not pressed
For offenders not arrested
For difference between arrests and convictions
For nuisances not abated
For "thrown" cases — helping offenders by forgetting or admitting lack of evidence
For time wasted
For failure to verify addresses given

Methods of testing efficiency —

Of individual officers
Of department policies
Of department methods
Of legal provisions

Methods of studying departmental results —

By captains and sergeants
By commissioner and deputies
By the mayor

By the board of estimate
By the public

Detective service —
Assignments
Results
Records not subject to public scrutiny
Periodical arrest amounting to license of offenders

Relations with other departments —
Magistrates' courts
Night court
Department of correction
Tenement house department, etc.

Private Mailing Card

The Police Need a Social Program as Social Programs Certainly Need Efficient Police

XII

METHODS THAT MAKE "GOOD GOVERNMENT" EASY

Is a Balance Sheet Beyond Woman's Understanding?

A balance sheet is something which every successful private business thinks it necessary to have, and which municipalities and states think they can get along without. As Investors, rich men look for it and are guided by it. As Reformers and Educators, they are still apt to disdain it.

If correct, a balance sheet shows exactly where a business stands at a given date,— everything in hand and due it on the one side, and on the other everything it owes. Thus a balance sheet is merely an *outlook*.

What is there about your standing or mine to-day, what we owe or what is due us, that is ultra-scientific and technical, uninteresting or too difficult to understand?

When a furnished cottage is hired for the summer an efficient landlord will take a receipt for a complete list of household furnishings. When the house is given back in the fall he compares the list of furnishings which the tenant turns back with the original list. For the difference, that is for missing articles, he makes the tenant pay. That is one simple form of balance sheet and that is all there is to a city's balance sheet except that there are more things that need to be compared.

The thing about a balance sheet that disconcerts

most people is that the total on one side is exactly the same as the total on the other. Yet this is so with your bank account.

If you can be the means of removing the conviction among your women acquaintances that balance sheets are beyond their understanding, you will inestimably have furthered efficient government.

I copy here a balance sheet circulated by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, which you can easily understand the minute you stop thinking you cannot understand it. An interesting hour could be spent by your woman's club or by your church hearing from an expert how it is that by that simple page the man at the head of Philadelphia's government will be notified of the slightest error in addition or subtraction made by the humblest bookkeeper in the service.

If with a similar balance sheet your town, city, county or state is not reporting the truth about goods on hand, property, bills unpaid, revenues due and not received you may be sure that money is being wasted, that mis-praise and mis-condemnation are certain, that the public is being deceived and that in all probability men inside and outside of the government are profiting from corruption and mismanagement.

To spread throughout the country sound policies and sound methods regarding balance sheets and the keeping of records so that balance sheets will tell the truth about government work, the former comptroller of New York City, Herman A. Metz, has

SUMMARY CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1910

	General Account.	Capital Account.	Sinking Fund.	Fire Insurance Fund.	Total.
ASSETS.					
Cash	$4,936,232 22	$9,569,616 44	$195,310 28	$7,663 80	$14,708,822 24
Amounts due to the city—revenues receivable	2,871,811 41	.....	.....	.....	2,871,811 41
Investments	.....	.....	12,155,600 00	315,900 00	12,471,500 00
Lands, buildings, equipment and other permanent improvements	.....	250,351,352 63	.....	.....	$250,351,352 63
Total assets	$7,808,043 63	$259,920,969 07	$12,350,910 28	$323,563 80	$280,403,486 28
LIABILITIES.					
Warrants payable	$1,244,671 14	$567,244 92	.....	.....	$1,811,916 06
Amounts due to other funds	10,652 30	.....	.....	.....	10,652 30
Funded debt	.....	86,248,200 00	.....	.....	86,248,200 00
Total liabilities	$1,255,323 44	$86,815,444 92	.....	.....	$88,070,768 86
Excess of assets over liabilities	6,552,720 19	173,105,524 15	$12,350,910 28	$323,563 30	192,332,717 92
	$7,808,043 63	$259,920,969 07	$12,350,910 28	$323,563 30	$280,403,486 28
APPROPRIATIONS AND RESERVES.					
Appropriations—unencumbered balance	$808,537 99	$5,340,734 44	.....	.....	$6,149,272 43
Reserve for contracts	473,297 94	3,603,926 59	.....	.....	4,077,224 53
Reserve required to meet funded debt at maturity	.....	.....	$11,161,924 42	.....	11,161,924 42
Reserve for unclaimed loans and interest	.....	.....	51,143 22	.....	51,143 22
Reserve for losses by fire	.....	.....	.....	$323,563 30	323,563 30
Total appropriations and reserves	$1,281,835 93	$8,944,661 03	$11,213,067 64	$323,563 30	$21,763,127 90
Surplus—Cash and investments over demands and reserves	$2,399,072 85	$57,710 49	$1,137,842 64	.....	$3,594,625 98
Surplus—Revenues receivable	2,871,811 41	.....	.....	.....	2,871,811 41
Surplus—Properties over funded debt	.....	164,103,152 63	.....	.....	164,103,152 63
Excess of assets over liabilities, appropriations and reserves.	$5,270,884 26	$164,160,863 12	$1,137,842 64	.....	$170,569,590 02

established a National Fund for Promoting Efficient Municipal Accounting and Reporting. This fund is administered by the Bureau of Municipal Research, 261 Broadway, which will be glad to answer questions. For copies of official statements issued in New York City, blank books and records, write to the City Comptroller, 280 Broadway, New York City.

Find out if your mayor and other public officers and boards of trade have been thinking of this subject. Improper bookkeeping will outwork and outwit the best intentions and efforts of women in government.

Outwit the Grafter by Accounting

Ballots neither graft nor account.

Because few men graft while others are looking, the grafter is not an animal to be overtaken, but a condition to be uncovered.

Graft presumes the ability to conceal. The greatest of all graft concealers is inefficiency. Waste-graft does more harm than theft-graft. Less graft will be found when graft is looked for than when inefficiency is looked for.

Ability to conceal the presence of graft presumes that grafters have accomplices. Sometimes the grafters are on the outside of government, and the accomplices on the inside. Sometimes grafters are on the inside, and the accomplices on the outside. Wherever any considerable amount of graft exists, the chief culprit, the steadiest, most trustworthy ac-

complice is the chief victim of graft, namely, the general public.

Among the means as yet discovered to keep the general public from being an accomplice in graft, the most effective is a system of records which affords *current evidence* as to the *who*, current evidence as to the *what* and current evidence as to the *when* of orders, contracts, certificates of delivery, inspections, audits, stores on hand, labor rendered, time loafed, shortages concealed, overcharges, etc.

Grafters know it is easier to beat the candidates who threaten to put them in jail than the officers who know what is being done with public money.

An open public eye rather than an aroused public conscience is essential to the elimination of graft. Falsifying a payroll, if you can prove it, is not dissimilar to forging a bank check.

In furnishing evidence, no accounting is adequate which does not account for work done as well as for money spent. Such accounting is just as necessary for counties and states, townships and national departments, as for cities.

Short Weights and Measures for Women Purchasers

When you are told what votes for women will do for government please do not forget that the high morals, good intentions and "housekeeping instincts" have not prevented annual short weight and measure losses by woman purchasers greater than their annual savings bank deposits.

These losses are not a city monopoly, for wherever weights and measures have been examined the same conditions have been found.

So universal is the practice that nation-wide enterprises have manufactured "fast" scales that lie; measures with false bottoms; light weights; cans with false insides; spools of thread 28% short; milk and cream bottles from 3% to 6% short. Other common phenomena are yard sticks from one-half to two inches short; counter tacks for measuring dry goods from one-half to two inches too near each other; gasoline pumps giving from 4% to 10% short measure; pound bread loaves weighing 14 ounces instead of 16; ice for charitable institutions and hospitals from 10% to 40% short; coal 10% short, etc.

After a report by the Robert L. Stevens Fund for Municipal Research in Hoboken on weights and measures in eleven New Jersey cities, inspectors and officers in several cities not investigated promptly claimed that there were no such evils in their city. But in self-righteous Bayonne a man has just been fined $50 for delivering oil in a can marked five gallons which actually held but three gallons. For years purchasers have been defrauded by this man out of enough every week to pay this $50.00. Of weights, scales, measures and packages tested in Princeton 54% were incorrect. Only two of 19 stores were correct in all tests.

Of 39 oil cans found in one inspection in Hoboken all were made of full measure, but the drivers had

dented in 29 of them so that they were short from six to forty cubic inches. When it was known that the inspectors were about, several drivers undented their cans but could not conceal evidence of intent to defraud. Some of them were cheating from $3 to $5 a day without the knowledge either of their employers or their customers.

Dealers claim that light weights, fast scales and short measures are invented and used not for the sake of giving the customer short measures, but to give her the impression by heaping up her measure that she is getting a little more than she pays for. So general is this bargain seeking instinct that even at ice-cream counters in many cities practically no dishes are found that are not short measure; a girl would rather have a heaped up short dish of ice cream than a level full dish.

An ideal customer is one who knows values and tests quantities. But most of us are like the man who was told he could live ten years longer if he would drink buttermilk three times a day: "What's the use of living ten years more if I must drink buttermilk three times a day!" We would rather lose three or five or ten per cent. on our purchases than go through life questioning the weight or measure of our purchases and suspecting our grocer and butcher. Therefore the need for someone who will be on the watch for all of us all of the time.

In cities there should be enough inspectors of weights and measures to make it too risky for dealers to use short scales or false measures or to get false

results from true scales and measures. In every city some private agency should organize to make occasional tests of the work done by official sealers of weights and measures. This is one of the best fields for women's clubs. It takes but a little time and a few can act for the many. Start with the Saturday night and rush hour trading.

Superintendent Reichmann of New York State's department of weights and measures, Albany — the premier educator in this field — has issued instructions on weights and measures for officials relative to the testing of weights, measures and apparatus used in trade. How obvious some of the deficiencies are you can gather from one illustration taken from these instructions:

Faulty Dry Measures Likely to be Found

Wooden measures cut down so as to reduce the depth

False bottom, tilting bottom, raised bottom or removable bottom, to decrease the depth

The bottom reduced in diameter and the sides relapped. This can be readily detected by the poor nailing

Sides broken off

Metal measures bent, broken or dented

Measures falsely constructed, namely, of wrong capacity

Bushel baskets containing only 7/8 or 3/4 bushel when stricken full. These are very common

Six-quart measures. These are illegal and are used for peck or eight-quart measures

Double-ended measures, that is those with a

bottom part of the way up, one side being used for one capacity, the other for another.

For the New Jersey report illustrated and a copy of the bill embodying the best knowledge and standards to date, address the Secretary of State, Trenton, N. J. Ask the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research for its report on that city. All these documents should be in your public library.

If nothing has yet been done in your state, ask the United States bureau of standards, Washington, D. C., what inspections it has made in your state, the character of your laws and your present needs.

What is the use of contributing a few hundred or a few thousand dollars to your local charities if you allow the poor to be defrauded out of from 3% to 5% of their purchases of groceries, meats, etc.?

Did you know that the difference between a liquid measure gallon and a dry measure gallon is from 15% to 18%?

The price for beans and peas is fixed on dry measure; do you get yours in liquid measure?

Have you any idea how big a bushel is?

Do you buy strawberries by the box or by the quart?

When you buy meat do you pay for the wrapping paper and the trimmings?

Do you wait for the scales to come to a balance or let the butcher overcharge you a pound or two with the force with which he places the meat on the scales?

Do you pay for the wooden box in which your butter is weighed?

Have you ever had a short weights and measures exhibit in your community?

Do you know anybody who thinks that a yard should contain less than 36 inches, a pound less than 16 ounces, a gallon less than four quarts?

The Public as Purchaser

Ballots do not purchase for your city.

At New York City's budget exhibit in 1910 perhaps the most interesting feature was the short weights and measures which had a sobering influence on both men and women who had heretofore taken pride in some supposed superiority over government purchasers.

No informed person now believes that the loss to New York City's taxpayers from inefficient purchasing by city officials and employés is equal to the loss from their own inefficient purchasing.

Wherever the public as purchaser has been investigated it has been found to be wasteful. In one department of the United States government ten different prices were paid for the same quality of ink by ten different divisions. $13,000,000 were spent in one year on railroad tickets yet mileage was not bought because "only 15% to 20% could be saved."

Curiously enough the percentage of waste seems to grow as the size of the place shrinks. Nor does noble purpose protect hospitals or schools from wasteful purchasing: $800,000 saved in New York City's school supplies in 1911 as compared with

1904; $6,000 saved on Bellevue Hospital's milk in 1910 and 2½ tons of ice saved a day by that same hospital; 500,000 record cards bought by the department of health at the retail price bid for 500; $1.50 approved for a six cent valve wheel by the department of correction; $6,000 paid in West Hoboken for a $2,000 school site; New York City rejected 700,000 pounds of forage and 300,000 pounds of meat for its hospitals in 1910; by weighing and measuring provisions for a small private hospital a superintendent saved $3,000 in one season of summer fresh air work, enough to give a day's outing to 12,000 mothers and children.

You can learn what your city pays for different articles. You can compare the price paid with the proper price. You can discover whether proper steps are being taken every day in the year to see that purchases are correct. You can have a public exhibit in your library or in the school or on the main street which will show actual articles, their right price and the city's price.

There should be a price list in the city auditor's or comptroller's office with which to compare prices charged. A very careful list is now being made up in the New York comptroller's office. The most detailed price list, probably, in the world is being worked out by President Taft's efficiency commission, copies of which may be had by applying directly to the commission at the White House, or through your congressman or senator.

Contracts should state clearly the quality and

quantity of goods to be bought. This description of goods is called the specifications. New York City's new coal specifications, on which over $250,000 will be saved next year, were recently requested by a woman's club whose managers felt that their contract with the coal dealer was not being lived up to and wished to make their arrangements more specific.

A price list, a good bargain, a written contract, and careful specifications will not help unless goods are inspected upon delivery to see that they are the same as contracted for.

Unless you specify that you will pay for the heat units in the coal rather than for its weight, coal dealers will try to make you believe that coal cannot be equally good all the time.

Wherever cities pay 20%, 50% or 200% more for land than it is worth, whether by private sale or by condemnation proceedings, it means that somebody is being paid by the public to work against the public's interest 365 days a year. The same statement applies to other purchases where the public is the loser.

Labor is purchased just as much as coal, vegetables and land. The public has been particularly careless in purchasing labor and has failed to specify in advance exactly what work it wanted to have done and to make sure that the work paid for was that bargained for. It would be harder to exhibit facts about your city or county or state as purchaser of labor, but you may easily find, as did Illinois, that a man is

paid a liberal salary for winding the state house clock once a week.

By watching purchases five women in your city can do more to prevent corruption and misgovernment than 5,000 women can do by their votes without watching purchases.

For detailed suggestions as to how to go about it and how to be sure that somebody is constantly checking purchases, write to the Herman A. Metz Fund, 261 Broadway, New York City.

The Public as Auto Owner

Governments as well as farmers and store keepers have felt the auto craze.

There are many plausible reasons for substituting automobiles for horses. High priced public officials ought to spend their time at work instead of traveling. It is easy therefore to show by computation that a park commissioner earning $7,500 a year can save the city $100,000 if he can get around quickly by using an automobile. When such arguments are used ask a few questions.

Is the automobile used to ride into or away from public business?

Does the official's wife do her shopping in the city's automobile?

Do the officials, their families, relatives, or "best girls" take joy rides at night or in the summer time?

Does it cost $4,200 a year to repair a $900 automobile?

Wherever an automobile is paid for by the public a record should be kept such as is now being kept in Porto Rico and in the commissioners of accounts' office, New York City (280 Broadway) telling just where the automobile goes, how much gasoline or electric current it uses, who runs it, who uses it and for what public purpose. These are called "time and service records."

Wherever several automobiles are paid for by the public there should be a central garage to which officers must apply, as they make requisitions for lead pencils or coal.

Central rooms for stenographers yield greater efficiency at less expense than giving to each person who dictates a monopoly over some special stenographer who is idle except when the dictator happens to have something to say.

In this same way one automobile may be used by a dozen officers when most needed by each and it becomes unnecessary to have drivers and machines standing around waiting for the public official to take a ride. For *automobile* substitute *horses*, and apply similar tests for use of city property and city time.

Inspection of Public Purchases and Payrolls

Ballots will not inspect anything.

As Washington wrote repeatedly to his foreman: slave service was certain to be wasteful and incompetent wherever task masters failed to inspect currently the details of the work. This generalization

General Washington made after receiving a report of the work done by women slaves at Mount Vernon during his absence in Cambridge.

Any buyer who accepts her purchases without looking them over to see that they are according to her own understanding will surely receive a good proportion of short weights and inferior qualities. What else explains four prices for the same meat in four shops within two blocks!

A child three years old will take advantage of a nurse or a parent who fails to compare action with instruction.

A modern highly trained nurse or nursemaid, for that matter the highest priced dressmakers and milliners, do much better service for mistress or customer who carefully inspects their work than for one who takes it for granted that she will get her money's worth or would "rather be overcharged than go through the world afraid of being cheated."

By inspecting bills overcharges will be occasionally found. Those practiced in selling inferior qualities and quantities however, are less apt to overcharge than to underweigh, undermeasure or give inferior qualities. Therefore it is important to compare the actual goods with prices before they are consumed.

To fail to inspect goods is to tempt the dealer and one's own representative. Lack of inspection made possible delivery of grade No. 4 oats not good enough for goats when the city was paying for grade No. 1 oats. Lack of inspection made possible paying $2.21 to put a six cent hat hook in place.

With regard to coal, many school boards are now not only inspecting the coal, but have it weighed on their own premises and on their own scales just before delivery to their own bins, and then in addition have samples taken to test what a Chicago alderman called "their British terminal units" (thermal or heat units).

A central purchasing agent who buys for all the city's departments can get better prices than 20 or 100 different agents buying in different quantities. Delivery to one central purchasing bureau makes inspection vastly easier. By central purchasing our railroads are saving hundreds of thousands of dollars a year.

A central purchasing agent is possible even where deliveries have to be separated. Throughout the west 10 or 20 or 30 binding twine dealers, for example, will pool their orders and let the combined order to the lowest bidder. Yet the one seller makes delivery to each man according to his individual part of the total order. Similarly several private hospitals of New York have combined to pool or bunch their orders for hospital supplies, and while getting individual deliveries are also saving more money each year than the Saturday and Sunday Hospital Association raises from its thousands of donors.

Any individual citizen can get a list of public institutions of his city or county or state and can learn whether, how and when goods are inspected.

Any group of women may, with little expense,

learn whether the knowledge gained by inspection is used to prevent fraud and overcharging.

Audit as a Part of Inspection

Voting never audits.

It seems terribly unromantic to ask women who want to save their country to find out how public bills are audited.

But the auditing of bills is a truer indication of the moral attitude of a community than is the platform of a suffrage or other political party.

If bills are audited in a way that permits unscrupulous tradesmen to exploit the government, it is absolutely certain that outside the city or state government is an organized group on the job every day in the year attempting to corrupt, hoodwink or bully those who represent government, to mislead the public with regard to its own interest, and to prevent any substantial improvement in public morals.

Inspection concerns itself with goods delivered and the comparison of goods delivered with goods specified. Audit follows inspection and concerns itself with the payment for the goods. The auditor uses all the information gained by the inspector and sees that those who draw the warrant for the goods do not disregard the inspector's protests. The auditor must see that the department had authority to buy the goods, that there is money properly appropriated for that purpose, that the right officers certified to the order, to the receipt and to the warrant.

Where there is proper audit every person who has

anything to do with ordering or receiving or inspecting goods should certify to the particular part with which he has to do.

Quite generally auditing is weakest when it has to do with payrolls. Progressive cities are trying now to install time sheets on which each person certifies as to the time he works, then each individual's time sheet is approved by the officer who is responsible for his work. Finally the heads of divisions and heads of departments certify that time sheets are used and that proper steps have been taken within the department to prevent any man's drawing pay for more hours than he worked.

An elaborate detailed description of each step in inspection and audit was published in New York in 1910 by Herman A. Metz, then comptroller, entitled, *Manual of Accounting and Business Procedure for the City of New York*. Supplementary manuals of instruction are being issued by Comptroller Prendergast. New York City's department of finance and the President's efficiency commission at Washington, D. C., will furnish the best short cuts to a technical treatment of these steps, forms of certificate, etc. The Herman A. Metz Fund will be prepared to answer questions and give help.

Every step in inspection and audit — every check against collusion, corruption and extortion — becomes a facile means of blackmailing those whom your city owes unless it is efficiently administered. Whether checks are used to blackmail is a question of fact to be answered not by an expression of public

sentiment at the polls, but by an actual inspection of methods used by your city or county or state auditor.

If no steps have been taken you can probably persuade some business men and expert accountants to make an examination for you. For from $10 to $50 a day you can get skilled experts to make such an examination and report on the business methods of your city.

What $100 Found Out as to Montclair's Methods of Doing Business

Because audit, inspection, accounts and records are technical matters many citizens delay taking easy steps to help their communities. The town council of Montclair, N. J., with a population of about 20,000, recently asked the Bureau of Municipal Research to make a survey of its business methods and to report if a more extended study were needed.

For $100 it was possible to tell the officers and citizens of Montclair the following significant facts, the mere presentation of which led to plans for improving the city's business methods:

1. With respect to disbursements, the records, reports and procedure employed by the town of Montclair fail to give to the mayor, council and taxpayers what is considered adequate financial or operative control.

2. With respect to receipts, our preliminary inquiry (which we submit subject to modification that might be made necessary by a more detailed study)

indicates that the town of Montclair has adequate financial and operative control.

3. With respect to current reports, including the annual report and balance sheet, there are a number of improvements which could easily be effected without reference to any changes in present method and procedure, and still further improvements that will be necessary if present method and procedure are modified.

4. There is nothing to prevent a department from exceeding its appropriation.

5. There is inadequate control over supplies.

6. The time at work is not shown.

7. Service records are lacking to compare time and money spent with service rendered.

8. A department may exceed its appropriation.

9. For want of proper records in liabilities incurred stores and supplies are inadequately controlled.

10. The balance sheet is deficient.

11. Horses and wagons are hired upon verbal agreement.

12. The building department and town collector's office could be efficiently conducted for less money.

When the Public Builds Buildings

$27,000,000 for a city hall that was to have cost $7,000,000; no water on the second floor of a public bath because the water mains were made too small; an emergency order, without competitive bids, for repairing a police precinct, given to a contractor 16

miles away; $20,000 given for cleaning a city hall that could be kept as clean for $2,000; 15 employés dead from tuberculosis in one germ infested, dark, unclean room. What's the use of multiplying examples?

Are the public buildings in your city clean?
Is there ventilation in the work rooms?
Is there adequate protection against fire?
Is the appearance that of order or disorder?
What of your county buildings?
What of your state buildings?

There cannot be too many public buildings in your community for women's clubs to learn the sanitary conditions and the efficiency of their management. You can add a touch of beauty here and there, some window boxes, some palms or ferns in the public baths. No gift by Mrs. Russell Sage has been more keenly appreciated in New York City than the restoring and beautifying of our venerable city hall.

Your women can interest the building superintendents in proper discipline, cleanliness and ventilation. You can easily see that new buildings are properly constructed according to modern standards and within proper cost. In Newark, N. J., the same woman who organized a demand for a new public bath is now, with the aid of paid advisers, following every detail of planning and constructing that bath.

This is a service with which voting has absolutely nothing to do.

Is anybody watching your public buildings?
Have you a municipal art commission?
Could you organize a voluntary art commission?
Would you support architects who would try to make a city beautiful?
What effort is made to improve the character of your municipal buildings and to influence your merchants and manufacturers to increase the beauty of the exterior and interior of their stores, offices and factories?

Safeguarding Construction of All Buildings

It is hard to realize that many men can look the world in the eye while building a tenement house, theater, factory or office building with full knowledge that it is a fire trap or otherwise a menace to life. Nor is it the degenerate alone who does this, but men and women of culture and high moral standards. The explanation is that they feel sure that *their* building will prove an exception. The willingness of insurance companies to carry whatever risk there is helps to lull the conscience to sleep.

What have the women of your community done to prevent the construction of unsafe buildings?

To prevent the innocent occupant from carelessness or viciousness on the part of builders willing to risk another's life for a slight saving in cost of construction, progressive cities have a *building code.* All plans for a building must be submitted to a central office for inspection. Only such and such materials may be used. Only under certain specified conditions may buildings be made of non-fire-proof

material. Certain minimum provisions as to ventilation, escape in case of fire, fire extinguishing apparatus, etc., are required.

Has your community a *building code?* Is it up-to-date?

Wherever building codes exist it is found that many inspectors and many builders are willing to evade the law. Inspectors receive bribes for looking the other way; or for failing to see economies that endanger life or health.

Another favorite *graft* is for inspectors to *hold up plans* on plausible grounds and then, upon receipt of a present or free rent in some new building, to mark on the plans that the changes have been made; after the building is up no one can tell that the law was evaded.

In England there is county supervision over the most remote farmhouses or barns. Gradually we are coming to see the need for similar protection in rural districts of the United States.

When city or state legislative bodies set out to make their building codes, those who manufacture different articles try to "sneak in" provisions which will give them either monopoly or preference. In New York in 1910 there was a bitter fight running over two months between two political factions as to which of two rival manufacturing companies should be given a practical monopoly in the building code.

Architects are interested in safe building. Every large community should have its voluntary committee

of architects, disinterested and public spirited, who are willing to study existing and proposed building codes and to make periodic inspections of the public supervising bureaus.

When the Bureau of Municipal Research investigated the Borough of Manhattan in 1906 numerous architects complained that it was necessary to bribe inspectors and officials, but not one was willing to give public testimony. One of the country's greatest reform officials told me he found that his own agent for a number of buildings of which he was trustee wanted to include in the year's expense account bribe money for building inspectors. Another well-known exponent of reform complains that he secured passage of his plans out of their turn because of supposed personal influence.

You can learn whether such practices exist in your community.

When the Public Builds Streets

This is too big a subject to be dealt with in a few words. The main points to be considered are these: Get wide streets; have trees planted along the sides or in the center; have the water mains, gas mains and sewers put in when the street is first built; have water enough to cleanse by flushing with frequent sewer holes so as to discourage the piling up of dirt and snow; see that somebody examines all contracts for street paving and repairs so that building of streets will be a matter of serious city planning and not an opportunity for grafting; use paving material that

will not grind up into fine dust and double the work of keeping your houses clean; do away with the long term guaranty of private contractors, pay them and be done with it, but compel fulfillment of specifications while the work is being done.

The best up-to-date information on street building can be secured from *Engineering News*.

It is now known exactly how much it should cost to lay one hundred square feet of asphalt or concrete or wooden blocks or granite blocks and how much repaving would cost per cut one hundred feet square, and how much repairing should cost per quarter mile. It is known, too, that there is no more reason for having street-holes in winter because it is cold than for having baby deaths in summer because it is hot.

For instances of gouging the public through paving contracts, write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, Cincinnati; for repaving contracts write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, Philadelphia; for the story of the celebrated "Ahearn Case,"— the city official removed by Governor Hughes largely on account of his inefficiency in building and repairing streets,— write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City.

Efficient Fire Protection

Because fire insurance companies pay for losses due to fire, most of us have thought that fires did not cost any of us any money. Hence we have been tardy in trying to prevent fire-waste and we have

gone on losing at a rate five times as high as Germany's from preventable fires.

Were you surprised to learn recently that in the United States we burn up $500 a minute from fires, most of which could be prevented by reasonable precautions?

That prevention is largely a matter of education was strikingly recognized by one student of fire-waste, the publisher, Simon Brentano, who said that Chicago might better have lost once $250,000,000 (America's annual waste from fire) than to have lost its great fire chief Guerin in the stockyards fire of December, 1910.

By preventing fire holes instead of repaving them after election celebrations, Borough President McAneny saved New York City, in 1910, about $50,000.

From $3.50 per year per $100 on property insured, the New England Mills Company has reduced losses to six cents per $100 on property insured. This was done by educating the insured mill owners, first to build of proper materials with proper fire fighting appliances and then to keep watch upon their buildings so that fires would not be started.

Automatic sprinklers should be used in all large open areas, such as department stores and factories.

Wire-glass windows should be used wherever a building joins another or is near enough to be reached by flames. Fires creep in through windows rather than by walls, just as burglars do.

While fire protection is infinitely more interesting

than most people think, women's clubs could hardly be expected to qualify as specialists in fire fighting. They may, however, learn whether the fire department is "out of politics"; whether it finds out the reasons for fires and tells the public; whether too many men are employed; whether civil service tests are required and applied; whether supplies are bought economically or wastefully; whether fire horses cost 25% or even 50% too much, are kindly treated and promptly cared for; and whether the fire department is studying the problem of fire-waste as the health department should be studying the problems of health waste. They may know whether the fire alarm service is up-to-date and reliable; whether there are fire drills in schools and factories; whether school buildings are fire traps; and whether the laws requiring fire-proof construction in congested districts and periodic inspection of fire risks in shops, theaters, etc., are lived up to. They may follow Mrs. Sage's example and see that all fire stations have libraries.

Where there are volunteer fire companies, "public brigades," etc., women may see that children are taught not to throw matches in the garret, cellar or closet; not to play with matches and gasoline or kerosene at the same time; not to be careless in lighting the Christmas tree; and not to believe the stories told in country towns, as well as cities, about spontaneous combustion when explaining queer fires in homes, stores and stables. In fact, an annual lecture to school children about fire frauds or "fire flies," or the low standard of ethics which raises

money by setting fire to some insured building, would do a vast amount of good.

For the romance of fire fighting write to the National Fire Protection Association. For a scientific statement as to methods of reducing fire-waste, including automatic sprinklers, wire glass, electric alarm service and efficient administration of fire departments and bureaus of fire prevention, write also to that Association, Boston or Chicago. For methods of arousing and informing the public, address Committee of Safety, 165 Broadway, New York City.

Assessing Property

Do you pay taxes?
Do you pay at the same rate as your neighbor?
Do you and your neighbor pay at the same rate as those in other parts of your community?
Do any of you pay as much as you ought to pay to support the work that ought to be done by your city?
Is your property assessed at its full value or two-thirds or four-fifths its value?
Is anybody constantly watching assessments to see that they are equal?

The school teachers of Erie, Pa., became tired of being told that there was not money enough to increase their salaries. They began a study of assessment which was later taken up by the Allied Civic Organizations of Erie and is reported in one of the most readable and convincing discussions of equal assessment that you can find. Real estate experts

helped secure the right value of typical pieces of property. It was found that some were paying five times as much as others on property of the same value.

Some typical questions from the final report are reprinted to illustrate its helpfulness:

> Do you know that the city assessors of Erie have no definite, scientific, mathematically correct plan for assessing property for tax purposes?
>
> Do you know that the city of Harrisburg (under an equalized assessment) is getting $64,000 every year more than the city of Erie for its public improvements and maintenance, and that their millage is five mills less than ours?
>
> The records show property at Second and Plum assessed at 69% of market value; property at Eighth and Plum at 30%. Why the difference?

We Americans certainly do hate to pay taxes. Most of us would rather pay $100 without realizing that it was taxes than to pay a $5 tax. Hence we protest against licenses, such as Mobile, Alabama, uses for almost every business except walking on the street: milliner, juggler, chiropodist, baker, paving, dealing in yeast, repairing shoes, etc.

Most taxation in the United States is on land and buildings. Where other forms of wealth or income are taxed we have not as yet learned to tax in proportion to the ability to pay the tax. I recently overheard two rich men compare their European taxes with their New York taxes. They both agreed

that they paid much more in proportion to their wealth in Germany and in England than in New York. Neither was sure why it was that the Germans and English succeeded in getting the truth about rich men's incomes when it seemed impossible to do so in this country. One explained that the European judges were relentless in prosecuting those found to misrepresent their income, and further that any tax official had the privilege of going to a man's private books to see whether he was declaring the truth.

So notoriously do New Yorkers swear off their personal taxes that even Lawson Purdy, one of the country's greatest tax experts, has advocated abolishing the personal tax.

Women can universalize the belief that every man and woman should pay according to ability to pay and that it is dishonest, disreputable and unworthy to claim to be worth $100,000 when one spends $250,000 a year, or to value at $5,000 the furnishings for a house that cost $200,000.

One of the best speeches Mark Twain ever made was on the swearing off of taxes and the demoralizing effect on a whole community of the condition when rich men and women accept applause for philanthropy and religious work while understating by 10% or 90% the property on which they pay taxes. We must abolish the spectacle of men and women holding back by dishonest practices what is legally due from them for the poor and for education and then giving lavishly through private charity for the poor and for education.

Women can make sure that they are paying their own share of taxes even if it is not customary in their community. They can be uncomfortable if their husbands are not paying their share of taxes. They can ask questions which would make their husbands prefer to pay the whole tax. At times it would do good to learn about other women's taxes. They can refuse to follow any woman prominent in philanthropic circles who declares Paris as her residence in order to save the customs duty on her purchases abroad. They can make it unfashionable as well as a misdemeanor to declare falsely the amount of purchases abroad. They can refuse to applaud stories of successful smuggling. They can print comparative lists of the taxes paid by wealthy men and women. They can compare the principal private benefactions with the taxes that should be paid and are sworn off or otherwise evaded by leading philanthropists.

To equalize present methods is a better next step than to try to change the method of levying taxes in your city. To make vacant property pay taxes according to its real value now will help adjoining properties more than to labor for an ideal single tax. To enforce penalties for lying about personal property is a better next step than to give up, as hopeless, efforts to secure the truth as to income and property.

Watching City and State Revenues

Private philanthropy and civic uplift can go little further in American cities without the discovery of additional sources of public revenue.

In taxing the general public for uplift work it is no longer enough for women to urge more and more expenditures for social welfare. They must make sure (1) that the work is needed; (2) that there is enough money to pay not only for the entering wedge but for giving not to 10% but 100% of the needy the benefits of the new proposal; (3) that in raising the money from taxpayers' families they are not breaking down the health and strength of larger numbers than they relieve.

Altogether too little attention has heretofore been paid to public revenues. This is all the more curious because in private affairs we have given more thought to income than to outgo. But except to protest against the tax rate or total amount of taxes, individual citizens have rarely asked questions about revenue. See what we find when we begin to ask about revenue:

1. An increase in one year of $12,000,000 in the customs revenues at New York City by merely forcing passengers to tell the truth and by discovering when they smuggled
2. A fruit stand under Brooklyn Bridge formerly let at $600 a year at private bidding brought in $8,400 when let at public bidding
3. Park Commissioner Stover of New York

privately reduced to $900 a park permit that had brought $2,500 when let at public bidding

4. Payments for stands in the city markets were made to aldermen or other politicians so that a few favored renters got the best positions

5. Over $1,500,000 increase resulted from changes in controlling New York City's water revenues in 1910

With revenues, as with expenditures, our first opportunity is to make the most of what we have rather than to worry about new ones. In most communities the revenues which ought to be collected that are not collected will exceed the total cost of doing the not-yet-begun uplift work that women are certain they want to have done.

It is practicable to find out what different sources of revenue there are in your city, what it sells, what it rents, what it permits or licenses. By asking questions, not by balloting, can women fill in the gap between revenues due and revenues paid.

Sometimes judges impose a fine of $5 when they should fine $25. Sometimes cities charge $500 for liquor licenses when, if they charge at all, they might just as well charge $1,000. Some favored citizens are permitted without making proper legal payments, to cut openings in the street, put vaults under the street or have dogs at large. Water meters are often left unread, or bottling establishments, breweries and livery stables are permitted to pay not for the water they use but for the number of feet frontage of their property.

Wherever city revenues are improperly charged or improperly recorded, many people have a money interest in extravagant expenditures, favoritism and corruption, because these conceal their undue advantage.

To find whether your city's method of keeping track of revenues due and revenues paid, is adequate, address the Herman A. Metz Fund, 261 Broadway, New York City.

What sources of revenue has your city apart from taxes?
How much was due last year?
How much was paid in last year?
What is done about the delinquencies?
Can a collector, without detection, give a receipt for $500 and write $5 on the receipt stub?
Can he give and renew a license without cost?
Can he keep and use city funds for months without its being known?
Are there women who receive special favors?
Are valuable privileges let privately or to the highest bidder?
Is valuable public property such as the streets, river front and parks leased free or *for a song* to private parties?
Is there any one officer who has a list of every amount due the city with date due plus the name of the man or premise owning it?
Is this list used to compare what the collectors turn in with what they should turn in?

What Can Women do About Franchises?

Ballots do not draw franchises.

A city official recently said to the directors of the

Bureau of Municipal Research: "Will you please tell me why it is that your Bureau is worrying so about non-promotion and the inspection of foods while leaving to others the largest and most important question — subway franchises?" Two days later Mayor Gaynor expressed regret that people were trying to settle the subway question without "getting down on their knees to study the city map and alternative subway proposals."

Franchises have been synonymous with corruption and misgovernment largely because individual voters and organizations have not taken the time to get down on their knees to study the details of great franchises. Yet why not? Innumerable elections have hinged on the terms of public franchises. Volumes have been written showing how franchise holders have corrupted and misled franchise grantors. As of any other question it is true of franchises, that one who has made up his mind to vote has not only the time but the obligation to discover why he is going to vote that way.

The woman voter, whether a stockholder's wife or daughter, can refuse to share the pecuniary benefits from those franchises which on balloting day she declares to be a fraud against the public. She can refuse to be party to public clamor against corporations for having done what public clamor invited them to do five or ten years earlier.

Getting something for nothing, or getting a great deal for a little, applies not only to the corporations which have paid bribes, but to aldermen and mayors

who have accepted bribes. Sometimes corruption begins with the owner or would-be-owner of a franchise. Many times it begins with the official who has it in his power to take or withhold from the owners or would-be-owners rights or property to which they are entitled.

It is profitless to speculate on the relative demerits of briber and bribee. One thing we can be sure of: people do not give or take bribes in the open. Therefore, all franchise transactions should be forced into the open,— open outlining of plans, open discussion of pros and cons, open bidding for the franchise.

The greatest franchise fighter in the United States is the city of Chicago. For its exciting story, write to the Bureau of Public Efficiency, Chicago. For European experiences, model restrictions, etc., address Legislative Reference Library, Madison, Wisconsin. For New York City's fight against charter protection of franchise juggling write to City Club, 55 West 44th Street.

Merit Tests for Public Service

Voting may secure civil service laws, but it cannot discover merit or apply merit tests.

To the victors belong the spoils was for decades an honored epigram in American politics. The central theme of the great moral campaigns from 1800 to 1894 was *spoils of office* and not tariff or national banks or acquisition of territory. We shall never know the relative importance of this desire for spoils,

which some may consider fortunate, because it would certainly be mortifying to discover how few patriots went to the polls with no other thought than their country's good. Of thousands who thought they were voting on public issues a great proportion were brought to the polls by a handful of politicians and other public employés who merely took advantage of public excitement over "paramount issues" to fight for public spoil.

How far we have traveled away from this crude commercial idea of government is shown by the fact that at the present time 245,000 national employés are protected against removal from office *except for inefficiency or for want of work;* while in states, counties and cities there are possibly 500,000. (No one can now give the exact number.) Special laws declaring for the merit test rather than the party test of new employés have been passed in the following states for almost all state offices: Colorado, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Wisconsin, Illinois.

In addition, about 200 leading cities have in their charters or by special law provided for merit tests. For city, state and nation there are officers whose sole business it is to prepare questions for civil service examinations, to conduct these examinations, to list eligible employés and to guard the enforcement of the civil service or merit law.

Voluntary associations in cities and states and for the nation watch the working of civil service laws. To learn which cities and states have civil service

reform associations, how these were organized and how the merit system is applied, write to the National Civil Service Reform Association, New York City.

Civil service has progressed so far that few corrupt men dare to attack it. Everybody now concedes that to the victor should belong *not the spoils* but the *opportunity to render public service* and *obligation to be efficient.*

Curiously the severest public complaints against civil service now come from "good men" officials. They complain that they cannot get rid of inefficient civil service employés if these are under civil service, and that if they do succeed in dismissing some man they secure from the civil service eligible list some one else who is no better.

Four defects you will find in the administration of the civil service or merit system in your state or city:

1. The questions asked have not been calculated to discover the fitness of a man for a particular task; for example, instead of asking candidates for superintendency of public baths what is involved in running public baths and how the work should be done, we have asked such questions as "How long would it take a tank 13 feet deep and 30 feet wide and 75 feet long to empty itself from a vent one inch in diameter?"
2. After-appointment-merit has not been discoverable because public departments have failed to keep records of work done and other tests of efficiency that fairly reflect the merit of an employé; most departments have even failed to

keep time sheets to show the presence or absence of employés.

3. Uncongeniality has not been recognized as a cause for transfer or removal. Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, the father of public lectures in public schools, frequently complains of this defect on the ground that an uncongenial office assistant may easily decrease the working efficiency of others in the office, including his supervisors, by 25%. He thinks a gaping dress, uncleanly or slovenly habits, bad temper, etc., should be sufficient reason for dismissal from public service if they are bad enough to be disagreeable to colleagues at work.
4. Too little freedom of exit has been permitted. The original idea of civil service reform was to apply merit tests for appointment, for promotion and for retention and not to build up an office holding class to feel that their country or city should take care of them for the rest of their lives. Many friends of the merit system believe that we would get a better result if we gave almost unlimited freedom to officers to dismiss employés so long as we keep from them the power to name new employés, and, secondly, so long as we hold them rigidly accountable for efficient management of their offices.

Before civil service employés receive their pay it is usually necessary for some civil service commission to certify that men are doing the work for which they were appointed. Instead of making inquiries which they have the power to make, most of these commissions have gone on signing certificates in spite of padded payrolls, absence from service and innu-

merable other violations of the civil service laws. Hostlers have been given soft berths in offices as bookkeepers; civil engineers have been engaged as hospital superintendents; hospital helpers have acted as purchasing agents. For such violations there is absolutely no excuse. They nullify and discredit the merit system, but the explanation is we have thought too much of protecting men from political interference and too little of insuring efficient service.

Making a fetish of "civil service" forms means giving respectability to many forms of misgovernment.

The latest and most advanced proposition for extending the merit and efficiency system is a bill submitted to the 1911 Illinois Legislature by the Illinois Civil Service Reform Association, Chicago. Of particular help will be its provision for "*standardization of employment* in all included positions and *efficiency records* of individual employés and employés in groups."

In New York City a committee of the board of estimate and apportionment is now conducting an inquiry into salaries and grades of 85,000 permanent employés and in the working of the civil service law. This study has in mind careful efficiency records. For its results, address the board of estimate and apportionment. Dr. Elliot H. Goodwin's summary of civil service to date will be found in the National Municipal League proceedings for 1910.

Have you a state civil service association?
Have you a local civil service association?
Has your state a law providing for civil service for state offices?
Has your state a law providing for civil service in cities?
Is civil service especially provided for in your city's charter?
Is the law efficiently enforced?
Are there individual efficiency records?
Does the civil service commission approve payrolls without knowing whether men have been working according to law?
Does the civil service commission make an annual report?
Have you ever seen one?
Do the newspapers print it?
Does it point out needed changes in the merit law or in method of enforcing it?
Do officials claim that civil service stands in the way of efficiency?
Are many civil service employés reinstated with back pay because officers do not comply with the law in dismissing them?
Do your reformers after election to office complain against the civil service law?
Would your woman's club be interested in learning whether civil service is a merit system or an obstruction to efficient government?

A Business Doctor for Uncle Sam

Quietly but with results that promise to transcend any significant government reforms which have ever been effected, the President's Inquiry into Economy and Efficiency is being prosecuted at Washington.

The head of the efficiency commission is Dr. F. A. Cleveland, one of the directors and founders of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

Two thousand government employés and officials are supplying information and acquiring new habits which will profoundly affect the character of service in the smallest government unit in the land.

Documents which should be in every public library and in the hands of every government official or civic leader wishing to substitute efficiency and light for darkness and chaos in public business will follow one another in swift succession for the next few years. These documents may be obtained by writing to the White House, Washington, and will serve both as text books and hand books.

Reasons for Efficiency in National Business

Long before President Taft secured his Bureau of Efficiency a movement was begun in 1910 to start a voluntary organization which should do for national business what various bureaus of municipal research are doing for municipal business; $250,000 a year for five years was tentatively guaranteed.

Although this movement grew into President Taft's plan for a Congress-supported agency, the point of view of Mr. Charles A. Coffin who originated and promoted it should be supported by women:

> The educational motive for applying sound business methods to government business as well as

to private business is appealed to constantly by the fact that government business is largely conducted in defiance of business laws and with too little intelligent comprehension on the part of the people

The business motive is appealed to constantly by government acts and threatened acts tending to jeopardize the safety of investments in private business, because government agents are attempting to regulate the relations of private to public business in ignorance of the facts of both

The proposed national fund of citizen inquiry and citizen coöperation with national officials should be, not a temporary means of correcting defects in government business, but a means of continuously and progressively educating the people of the United States to sound and just principles and methods of conducting public business.

ENDOWED CIVIC RESEARCH

An interesting step in the work of improving municipal administration through skilled study and research is announced in the city of Hoboken, where Mrs. Robert Livingston Stevens has given in memory of her late husband a fund yielding an income of $4,000 a year, for this purpose, which is to be administered by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. . . .

We do not know that Hoboken needs such service either more or less than the average American city, but we are quite sure that **if its need is merely an average one it is very great.** In our complex social organism the work of municipal administration is one of the most important and the most difficult which have to be performed for the common good. Hitherto it has been developed much as most of our cities have been built, in a hit-or-miss fashion, **and without a tithe of the scientific thought and application which are given to the organization and conduct of relatively insignificant corporations of other kinds.** To provide upon a permanent basis for the careful study of municipal problems and processes and for expert supervision or scrutiny of their actual administration **is a public benefaction as great and practical as it is novel,** and the City of Hoboken is to be congratulated upon being the recipient of such provision. **We shall hope, because of actual results, to be able to add that its example is to be emulated by other municipalites.**

New York Tribune.

Part of Efficient Citizenship No. 284
Bureau of Municipal Research
261 Broadway

XIII

WOMAN'S PART IN TRAINING MEN AND WOMEN TO PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT

In the foregoing pages I have indicated my belief that women can train themselves to participate efficiently in government, whether they vote or not. Hardly a step has been suggested that some woman somewhere has not taken, either directly by personal service, or indirectly through others equipped to render the service efficiently.

If it be suggested that no one woman should be expected to be intelligently interested in all of the proposed tests please rejoin that neither should any one woman be all alone in the world, but, that on the contrary there are millions of fellow-women who may and must be enlisted.

As woman's part in government is threefold so her part in setting new standards of training for participation in government is threefold: Training herself for an individual's part; training herself for efficiency in team work; training others.

For an example of self-training for one woman's part, I refer students to the work of Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander of New Jersey, which reflects in an unusual degree the power to give and to do efficiently, and to get efficiently done, for her home, for her social circles, for the educational, charitable, correctional and civic interests of her city, county and state.

For illustrations of young women now training

themselves for leadership and professional service. in civic fields, I refer to a number of workers, volunteer and paid, with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and the three Schools of Philanthropy.

For proof of the unlimited field for participation in government open to those women able and wishing to give money as well as interest and time, I refer to what I regard as the most significant forward step taken in the field of American philanthropy or government in a generation,— the founding by Mrs. E. H. Harriman — and a group of business men whom she has first interested, then convinced and then inspired with enthusiasm for the possibilities of efficient democracy,— of a national fund for training in the study and management of public business.

This training is to be through field work, i.e., *doing work that needs to be done for government* first in New York City, but gradually in other places as workers, funds and needs present themselves.

By the time this book reaches the reader the National Training School will have been announced. For details as to the five-year experiment, write to the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City.

Its purpose, like the purpose of this book, is not to subordinate vision and motive to efficiency, but in Mrs. Harriman's words "to point out ways of working together so that everyone may have opportunity to become efficient."

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